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THE
LETTERS
OF
MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO.

THE
LETTERS
OF
MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO
TO
TITUS POMPONIUS ATTICUS

IN SIXTEEN BOOKS

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH

WITH NOTES

BY

WILLIAM HEBERDEN, M.D. F.R.S.

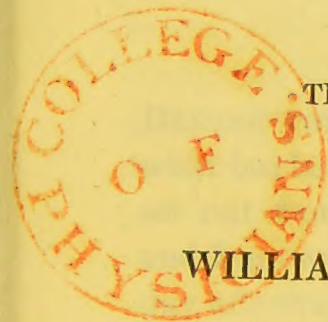
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And I want to know, that I may the more readily understand what they mean to do; whether they will join Pompeius; and, if so, by what way, or when they will go. I understand the city is already full of the principal citizens; and that Sosius and Lupus,² whom our Cnæus expected to be at Brundisium before him, are trying causes. From these parts numbers are going up. Even M. Lepidus, with whom I used to spend my day, thinks of going to-morrow. I shall however remain in Formianum, that I may receive the earlier intelligence; I then design to go to Arpinum; and thence to the Adriatic sea by the most unfrequented road, having first set aside, or wholly dismissed, my lictors. For I hear that many respectable people, who on this, and former occasions, have rendered good service to the Republic, disapprove of my delay, and make many severe observations upon me in their festive entertainments.³ Let us give way then, and in order to shew that we are good citizens, let us make war upon Italy by sea⁴ and land: and let us once more light up against us the enmity of wicked men, which was just extinguished;

² The two Prætors.

³ I am inclined to believe that *convivia tempestiva* might originally refer to the persons who met together, of the same condition, or the same club, and might thence come to signify *festive*.

⁴ This is evidently said with a mixture of irony.

and let us follow the opinions of Luceius and Theophanes.⁵ For Scipio either goes into Syria by his lot, or honorably attends his son-in-law,⁶ or avoids the anger of Cæsar: the Marcelli, if they were not afraid of Cæsar's sword, would stay behind: Appius is influenced by the same apprehension, and some recent causes of enmity: besides him, and C. Cassius, the others are lieutenants; Faustus is Proquæstor: I am the only person at liberty to choose the course I shall take.⁷ My brother will go with me; though it is not reasonable that he should share my fortunes on this occasion, which will more particularly expose him to Cæsar's displeasure; but I cannot prevail upon him to stay. We shall thus give to Pompeius what we owe him. Indeed nobody else moves me; neither the talk of good men, of whom there are none; nor the cause itself, which has been conducted timidly, and will be prosecuted wickedly.⁸ To him, to him alone I give this, while he does not even ask it, but supports (as he says⁹) not his own cause, but that of the public. I shall be glad to know what you think about going to Epirus.

⁵ Luceius and Theophanes were Pompeius's advisers in this war.

⁶ Pompeius.

⁷ To choose whether he should stay in Italy, or cross the sea to Pompeius.

⁸ By making war upon our country.

⁹ That is what he professes, though untruly.

LETTER II.

THOUGH I am expecting a longer letter from you on the 7th of March, which I think is your well day; yet I have thought it right to reply to that short one, which you dispatched on the 5th, when the fit was coming on. You say you are glad that I have staid; and tell me that you continue in your opinion. But in your former letters you seemed to me not to doubt but that I ought to go, provided Cnæus should embark with a respectable attendance, and the Consuls should pass over. Have you then forgot this? or did I not rightly understand you? or have you changed your opinion? But either in the letter, which I am expecting, I shall see distinctly what you think; or I shall solicit another. Nothing has yet been heard from Brundisium. What a difficult, and hopeless state! How in reasoning upon it you leave nothing unsaid! Yet in conclusion, how you explain nothing of your real sentiments! You are glad that I am not with Pompeius; and yet you state how disgraceful it would be for me to be present¹ while any thing is said against him, and how impossible to approve it. I must certainly then oppose it. "God forbid," you say. What therefore is to be done; if, in

¹ In the Senate.

the one case there is guilt, in the other punishment? "Obtain, you say, from Cæsar leave "to absent yourself, and to remain quiet." Must I then descend to supplication? O sad! and what if it is denied me? And respecting my triumph, you say that I shall be at liberty to do as I please. But what if Cæsar should press it upon me? Should I accept it? What can be more disgraceful? Should I refuse? He will think that he is wholly spurned; more so than in the affair of the twenty commissioners:² and he is accustomed, in exculpating himself, to throw upon me all the blame of those times; that I am so hostile to him, that I will not even receive honor at his hands. How much more unkindly will he bear this? just so much, as the honor itself is greater, and he is more powerful. For as to what you say, that you doubt not but Pompeius is greatly offended with me at this time; I see no reason why he should be so at this time. Can he, who never acquainted me with his intention, till Corfinium had been lost; can he complain that I did not go to Brundisium, when Cæsar was between me and it? Besides, he knows that his complaining on that account is unjustifiable: he supposes me to have been better informed, than himself, about the weakness of

² When it was offered to Cicero to fill the place of Cosconius who died. See Book II. Letter XIX.

the towns, about the levies, about peace, about the state of the city, about the treasury, about the occupation of Picenum. But if I would not go, when it was in my power; then indeed he might be angry. Which I do not regard from fear of his doing me any harm; (for, what can he do? "Who is a slave, that "is not afraid to die?"³) but because I abhor the imputation of ingratitude. I trust therefore that my going to him, at whatever time it should be, would, as you say,⁴ be acceptable. As to what you say, that if Cæsar acted with more moderation, you could give a more deliberate opinion; how is it possible that he should not act profligately? His life, his manners, his former actions, the plan of his undertaking, his companions, the strength of the good, or even their firmness, demand it. I had scarcely read your letter, when Postumus Curtius came to me on his way to Cæsar, talking of nothing but fleets and armies: he was seizing Spain; occupying Asia, Sicilia, Africa, Sardinia; and presently pursuing Pompeius into Greece. I must go therefore, that I may be his companion not so much in war, as in flight. For I cannot bear the scoffs of those people, whoever they are. They assuredly

³ The original is a verse of Euripides.

⁴ In the original is a Greek word, no doubt taken from Atticus's own expression.

are not, as they are called, good: yet I wish to know what it is they say; and I earnestly beg you to find out, and to inform me. Hitherto I am quite ignorant of what has been done at Brundisium. When I know, I shall take counsel from circumstances and opportunity; but shall be regulated by you.

LETTER III.

DOMITIUS's son passed through Formiæ on the 8th, hastening to his mother at Naples; and upon my servant Dionysius asking particularly about his father, he desired I might be told that he was in the city. But I had heard that he was gone either to Pompeius, or into Spain. I should be glad to know how this is. For it is of consequence to the subject of my present deliberation; that, if he is certainly not gone anywhere, Cnæus may understand the difficulty of my leaving Italy, while it is all occupied by troops, and garrisons, especially in winter. If it were a more favorable time of year, it would be possible to go by the Southern sea: now nothing can pass but by the Adriatic, the road to which is intercepted. You will inquire therefore about Domitius, and about Lentulus. No report has yet arrived from Brundisium; and this is the 9th of March, on

which day, or the day before, I imagine Cæsar would reach Brundisium: for on the first he stopped at Arpi. If you would hearken to Postumus, he will pursue Cnæus: for, by conjecture from state of the weather and the number of days, he supposed him already to have passed over. For my own part, I do not think Cæsar will be able to get sailors: he is himself very confident; and the more so, because the liberality of the man is known to the people concerned in the boats. But it is impossible I can much longer remain in ignorance of this whole Brundisian business.

LETTER IV.

THOUGH I feel some repose so long as I am writing to you, or reading your letters; yet I want myself a subject to write about, and am persuaded you do so too. For that familiar communication, which passes between us, while our minds are at ease, is excluded in these times: and what is appropriate to the times, is already exhausted. But, that I may not resign myself wholly to sadness, I have taken up certain subjects of a political nature, and suited to the times; that I may both withdraw my mind from complaints, and may exercise myself in matters of present concern. Such

are the following. If it be right to remain in one's country after it is subjected to a tyrant. Being so subjected, if every means should be employed to dissolve the tyranny, even at the risk of ruining the city. If care must be taken, that the person, who executes this, be not himself exalted. If it be right to succour one's country, under a tyrant, by opportunity and reasoning, rather than by war. If, when one's country is subjected to a tyrant, it be consistent with the duty of a good citizen to be quiet, and retire. If every danger ought to be hazarded for the sake of freedom. If war and siege ought to be brought upon one's country when oppressed by tyranny. If one, who does not attempt to put down a tyranny, may yet be reckoned among the number of good citizens. If we ought to support our benefactors and friends in political struggles, even when we think them to have acted imprudently. If one who has rendered signal service to his country, and on that very account has incurred troubles and envy, should voluntarily expose himself for his country's sake. If it be permitted him to make provision for himself and his family, and to leave state affairs to those in power. Exercising myself in these questions, and writing on both sides in Greek and in Latin, I divert my attention a little from uneasiness, and contemplate something

of real interest. But I fear I may address you unseasonably: for if the person, who brought your letter, came strait hither, it will fall upon your sick day.

LETTER V.

You wrote to me on your birth day a letter full of advice, and at once expressive of the greatest kindness, and the greatest good sense. Philotimus delivered it to me the day after he had received it from you. The circumstances you mention are very difficult to arrange; the way to the Adriatic; the voyage by the Mediterranean; the departure to Arpinum, as if to avoid Cæsar; the remaining at Formiæ, as if on purpose to congratulate him. But nothing is more wretched, than to see what presently, presently, I say, must be seen. I have had Postumus with me: I told you how consequential he was. Q. Fusius likewise called upon me; with what an air! with what insolence! He was hastening to Brundisium; charging Pompeius with wickedness, the Senate with fickleness and folly. Shall I, who cannot bear this in my villa, be able to bear Curtius in the Senate? Or suppose me to bear it with ever so good a stomach; what must be the issue when I am called upon; "Speak, M.

“Tullius?” I say nothing of the Republic, which I consider as lost both by the wounds it has received, and by the remedies which are prepared for it. But what shall I do about Pompeius? with whom (for why should I deny it?) I am quite angry. For the causes of events always affect us more than the events themselves. When I consider therefore these miseries (and what can be worse?) or rather when I reflect that they have been brought on by his means, and his fault, I am more irritated against him, than against Cæsar himself: in the same manner as our forefathers marked the day of the battle of the Allia,¹ as sadder than that of the taking the city; because the latter calamity was the consequence of the other: therefore the one is still held sacred, the other not even known to the common people. Thus am I angry while I recollect the errors of ten years past; (among which was that year of affliction to me, when he, to say nothing worse, did not defend me) and perceive the rashness, the baseness, the negligence of the present time. But these things are now erased from my mind. I think of the benefits I have received from him, and think also of his own dignity. I understand; later

¹ The Gauls defeated the Romans at the river Allia, previous to their taking the city.

indeed than I could wish, by reason of Balbus's letters and conversation; but I see plainly that nothing else is aimed at, nothing else has been aimed at from the beginning, but his death. Shall I then, (if Achilles, according to Homer, when his mother Goddess told him that his fate would presently follow that of Hector, replied, "would that I might die immediately, since I could not prevent the death of my friend;" what if not only a friend, but also a benefactor; such a man too; and engaged in such a cause? And shall I then) think these duties to be trafficked away for the sake of life?² I place no reliance on your principal people, and now no more defer to them. I see how they give themselves, and will give themselves, to this man. Do you think those decrees of the towns for Pompeius's health bear any comparison with these congratulations of victory? "They are afraid," you will say. Themselves say they were afraid before. But let us see what has been done at Brundisium. From that perhaps will arise my determination, and another letter.

² The context appears to me to require an interrogation in this place.

LETTER VI.

I HAVE yet heard nothing from Brundisium. Balbus has written from Rome, saying that he supposes the Consul Lentulus to have crossed the sea, without being met by the younger Balbus; who had already heard this at Canusium, from whence he wrote to his Uncle. And he added that the six cohorts, which had been at Alba, had gone over to Curius by the Minucian road; that Cæsar had written to inform him of it, and would shortly be at Rome. I shall follow your advice, and shall not hide myself at Arpinum at this time; though I wished to invest my son with the toga of manhood at Arpinum,¹ and had intended to leave this as my excuse to Cæsar. But he might perhaps be offended at that very circumstance, that I should not rather do it at Rome. If however it is right to meet him, it is best here. We will then consider the rest; whither I should go, and by what road, and when. Domitius, as I hear, is in the neighbourhood of Cosa;² and, as

¹ It was usual to assume the toga virilis on the festival of Bacchus, March 18th, at the age of 17, with some ceremony.

² Cosa is a place on the sea coast of Etruria.

they say, is prepared to sail. If to Spain, I do not approve it; if to Cnæus, I commend him: but any where rather than to see Curtius³, whom even I, that have been his patron, cannot bear to look at. What then? Must I bear others?⁴ But I must be quiet, that I may not aggravate my own fault: for through my affection to the city, that is, to my country, I have managed so as to be completely intercepted and taken. Since writing the above I have received a letter from Capua to this effect: Pompeius has crossed the sea with all the troops that he had with him, amounting to 30,000 men, besides the two Consuls, and those Tribunes of the people and Senators, who were with him, all with their wives and children. He is said to have embarked the 4th of March, from which day the winds have been northerly. They say that he either cut in two, or burnt, all the vessels which he did not use. The letter containing this account was brought to L. Metellus, the Tribune of the people, at Capua, from his mother-in-law, Clodia, who herself passed over. I was before solicitous and

³ Perhaps Postumus Curtius, of whom he had spoken in Letter II, and for whom he had formerly solicited the office of Tribune.

⁴ I apprehend it ought to be in the original *Quid? alios?* Otherwise it is not easy to see upon what the word *alios* depends.

anxious, as indeed the circumstances required, while I could bring my mind to no conclusion : but now, since Pompeius and the Consuls have left Italy, I am no longer anxious, but burn with grief; and, as Homer says, “ Neither is “ my mind sound, but I am distracted.” Believe me, I am not master of myself, so great is the disgrace I seem to have incurred. In the first place, by not having been with Pompeius, whatever plan he adopted ; then, in not having been with the good, however ill their cause was conducted. Especially when the very persons, for whose sake I was more timid in exposing myself to the risks of fortune, my wife, my daughter, the young Ciceros, wished me to follow that course ; and considered this to be base and unworthy of me. My brother Quintus indeed said he should be satisfied with whatever I chose ; and he followed it with perfect complacency. I now read over your letters from the beginning ; and they afford me some comfort. The first advise and beg me not to throw myself away ; the next shew that you are glad I have remained. When I read these, I think myself less blameable ; but it is only while I am reading them : afterwards my regret again bursts forth, and, as it is said, “ I am haunted with shame.” I beseech you therefore, my Titus, pluck out from me this trouble, or at least diminish it,

either by consolation, or advice, or any way you can. But what can you do? or what can any man? Hardly any God. I am considering (as you advise, and hope may be effected,) how I can get Cæsar's permission to absent myself when any thing is agitated in the Senate against Cnæus: but I fear I may not obtain it. Furnius has arrived from him; and, that you may know whose example I follow, he brings word that Q. Titinius's son is with Cæsar. He sends me greater thanks, than I could wish. What he asks of me, in few words indeed, but energetically, you shall see by his own letter. How unfortunate that you should have been unwell! Had we been together, there surely would have been no want of counsel—"And "going two in company,⁵ &c." But, let us not act over the past; let us provide for what remains. These two things have hitherto deceived me; at first, the hope of accommodation; upon which taking place I had wished to pass my old age free from anxiety and popular strife;⁶ afterwards, the understanding

⁵ The original is part of a verse from Homer, well known to both Cicero and Atticus, expressive of Diomedes's wish to have a companion in his night expedition to the Trojan camp.

⁶ Several conjectures have been offered by commentators in explanation of this passage, which however appears to be sufficiently clear, if we only admit the slight alteration of *et* in the place of *uti*,

that Pompeius had actually engaged in a cruel and deadly warfare. In truth I thought it argued a better citizen, and a better man, rather to undergo any punishment, than not only to take the lead, but to take any part in such cruelty. It appears preferable even to die, than to be leagued with such men. Think of these matters, my Atticus, or rather resolve. I can bear any event better than my present anguish.

Cæsar, Imperator, to Cicero, Imperator.

HAVING but just seen our friend Furnius, without being able conveniently either to speak to him, or hear him, being in a hurry, and actually on my road, with my troops already sent on before; I could not however let pass the opportunity of writing to you, and sending him to thank you. If I have frequently done this, yet I am likely to do it still more frequently; so greatly am I obliged to you. Especially I have to beg of you, as I trust I shall soon arrive in Rome, to let me see you there, that I may be able to avail myself of your advice, influence, dignity, and assistance in every thing. I must end as I began, and request you to excuse my haste, and the shortness of my letter. You will hear the rest from Furnius.

LETTER VII.

I HAD written a letter to you, which should have been sent the 12th of March; but the person, to whom I meant to entrust it, did not go that day. But the very same day, that expeditious messenger, of whom Salvius had spoken, brought me your very satisfactory letter, which again instilled into me some little life. Restored I cannot call myself: but what is next to this, you have done. Trust me, I now no longer think of a prosperous termination: for I see that while these two, or Cæsar alone, are living, we shall never have a Republic. Therefore I now lay aside all hope of retirement, and am prepared for every severity. My only fear was that of doing, or, I may say, of having done any thing discreditable. Let me assure you then that your letter is very valuable to me; and not only that longer one, than which nothing can be more explicit, nothing more complete; but also the shorter one, in which it was particularly agreeable to me to understand that my sentiments and conduct were approved by Sextus. You have done me a great kindness; for I know that he loves me, and that he understands what is right. Your longer letter has relieved not me

only, but all my family, from anxiety. I shall accordingly adopt your advice, and stay in Formianum; lest either my going to meet him in Rome may create observation; or if I neither see him here, nor there, he may think that I try to avoid him. As to what you advise, that I should ask him to let me pay the same regard to Pompeius, which I pay to him; you will see by the letter of Balbus and Oppius, of which I send you a copy, that I have already done so. I send also Cæsar's letter to them, written with great temper, for such a distempered state. If Cæsar does not grant me this, I perceive that you approve of my undertaking a negotiation for peace; in which I do not regard the hazard that attends it. For when so many dangers threaten us, why should I not compound for the most honorable? But I apprehend I shall bring some embarrassment upon Pompeius, and that he will be inclined to turn upon me "the appalling horror of the Gorgon's head."¹ For our friend Cnæus has been strangely ambitious of a sovereignty like

¹ The original is a verse of Homer. The meaning here is, that he might have to encounter the frown of Pompeius, who was averse from any compromise. It is possible that Pompeius might have a habit of so expressing his displeasure, as previously to have given occasion to the application of this line to him.

that of Sulla. I say it with confidence. He never was less² secret. "Would you then," you say, "join such a man?" I follow him, believe me, from a sense of the benefits I have received, not from a love of his cause; as in the case of Milo; as in—but enough of this. "Is not then his cause a good one?" Yes, the very best: but it will be conducted, mind you, most foully. The first object is, to starve the city, and all Italy, by famine; then, to lay waste and burn the country, and not to spare the property of the opulent. But, as I apprehend all the same calamities from this party; if there were not on the other side a sense of benefits received, I should think it more proper to bear at home whatever might happen. But I consider myself under such obligations to him, that I dare not expose myself to the charge of ingratitude, however just an excuse for it you point out. About my triumph I agree with you, and easily and willingly give up all thoughts of it. I am uncommonly pleased with the hope that in the midst of our arrangements the season for sailing may creep on unobserved. "If only, as you say, Pompeius is strong enough." He is stronger even than I thought. But whatever hope you may en-

² He was formerly spoken of as wanting openness. Book iv. Letter ix, and xv.

ertain of him, I engage that if he prevails, he will leave no tile in Italy unbroken.³ “And will “you then be his associate?” Against indeed my own judgment; and against the authority of all antiquity.⁴ I wish to get away, not so much to promote what is done there, as that I may not witness what is done here. For do not suppose that the madness of these people can be supportable, or confined to one kind: though nothing of this has escaped your penetration. When the laws, the judicial proceedings, and the Senate is taken away; neither private property, nor the Republic, will be able to support the licentiousness, the boldness, the extravagance, the needs of so many needy men. Let us away then by any passage; though I submit this to your judgment; but by all means let us away. We shall soon know that, which you wait for; what has been done at Brundisium. It gives me great pleasure, if indeed there is now any room for pleasure, that you say my conduct hitherto is approved by the good, at the same time that they know I have not left the country. I will endeavour to find out more particularly about Lentulus: I have entrusted this to Philotimus,

³ That is, he will destroy every thing.

⁴ Which leads to remaining at Rome, instead of deserting one's country.

a bold man, and more than enough attached to the Senatorian party. In conclusion, you may perhaps be at a loss for a subject to write upon; for it is impossible at this time to write about any thing else; and about this what more can now be said? But as both your wit supplies you (I speak forsooth as I think), and your affection, by which my wit likewise is sharpened; continue, as you do, and write as much as you can. I am half angry that you do not invite me to Epirus, where I should not be a troublesome companion. But farewell. For as you must exercise and anoint yourself,⁵ so I must sleep; which your letter enables me to do.⁶

Balbus and Oppius to M. Cicero.

THE counsels, not only of inconsiderable people, as we are, but even of the greatest men, are apt to be interpreted by the event, not by the intention. Yet relying on your goodness we give you the best opinion we can upon the subject about which you wrote to us. And if it be not wise; at least it proceeds from honest

⁵ This alludes to the treatment of his quartan fever; for which Celsus likewise recommends "walking, and "other exercise, and anointings." Lib. III. C. XIV. Ambulationibus uti oportet, aliisque exercitationibus, et unctionibus.

⁶ Meaning that his mind had before been too much decomposed to allow him to sleep.

minds, and the kindest regards. Unless we were assured from himself that Cæsar would do, what in our judgment he ought to do; that as soon as he comes to Rome he will enter upon measures of reconciliation with Pompeius; we should cease to exhort you to take a part in this affair, in order that the whole may be effected more easily, and with more dignity, through you, who are connected with both parties. On the other hand, if we thought that Cæsar would not do so, but was desirous of engaging in war with Pompeius; we never would persuade you to bear arms against one who has shewn you the greatest kindness; as we have always entreated you not to fight against Cæsar. But still, since we are rather able to guess, than to know, what Cæsar will do, we can only say, that it does not appear suitable to your dignity, and known probity, being so attached to both, to bear arms against either; and we have no doubt but Cæsar will highly approve this, agreeably to his accustomed humanity. But, if you wish it, we will write to Cæsar, in order to ascertain more certainly what he will do in this affair:¹ from whom if we receive an answer, we will immediately let you know our opinion; and promise you, that we will advise what seems to us becoming your dignity, not what may be most beneficial to

¹ Of reconciliation with Pompeius.

Cæsar's cause: and this we believe Cæsar will approve, according to his indulgence towards his friends.

Balbus to Cicero, Imperator.

I HOPE you are well. After I had dispatched to you the joint letter with Oppius, I received one from Cæsar, of which I enclose a copy. From thence you may perceive how desirous he is of peace, and of reconciliation with Pompeius; and how far he is from all cruelty; and I sincerely rejoice, as I ought, that he entertains such sentiments. With respect to yourself, and your integrity, and duty, I think, my Cicero, as you do, that it is impossible your reputation and attachment can permit you to bear arms against one, from whom you profess to have received such kindness. That Cæsar will approve this, I am confident, from his disguised humanity; and I know for certain that he will be abundantly satisfied with you, provided you take no part in the war against him, and do not join his adversaries. And he will not only deem this sufficient in one of your high character; but of his own accord he has given me leave to absent myself from the army, that might have to act against Lentulus, or Pompeius, to whom I am under great obligations: and he said, that he should be satisfied if, when I was called upon, I would

undertake for him the business relating to the city; and that I was at liberty to do the same for them.¹ Accordingly I am at this time conducting and supporting Lentulus's affairs at Rome; and I maintain towards them my duty, fidelity, and gratitude. But in truth I consider the hope of agreement to be now again cast off, not entirely desperate; since Cæsar's disposition is such as we ought to desire. In this case I think, if it meets with your approbation, that you should write to him, and request from him a guard; as you did from Pompeius, with my approbation, at the time of Milo's trial. I will engage, if I know any thing of Cæsar, that he will sooner consider your dignity, than his own advantage. How prudently I may advise you, I know not; but this I know, that whatever I write to you, I write from the purest affection and regard: for, so may I die without prejudice to Cæsar,² as I esteem few equally dear to me as yourself. When you have come to any determination about this business,³ I wish you would write to me: for I am not a little earnest that you should be able, as you desire, to shew your

¹ For Lentulus and Pompeius. The text in this place is mutilated.

² This is a form of abjuration, which became common under the emperors.

³ About entering upon negotiations for peace.

kindness towards both.⁴ And this I trust you will do. Farewell.

*Cæsar to Oppius and Cornelius.*¹

I AM very glad that you express in your letter how much you approve of what has been done at Corfinium. I shall willingly adopt your advice; and the more so, because of my own accord I had resolved to shew every lenity, and to use my endeavours to conciliate Pompeius. Let us try by these means if we can regain the affections of all people, and render our victory lasting. Others, from their cruelty, have not been able to avoid the hatred of mankind, nor long to retain their victory; except L. Sulla alone, whom I do not mean to imitate. Let this be a new method of conquering, to fortify ourselves with kindness and liberality. How this may be done, some things occur to my own mind, and many others may be found. To this subject I request your attention. I have taken Cn. Magius, Pompeius's præfect. I accordingly put in practice my own principle, and immediately released him. Already two of Pompeius's præfects of engineers have fallen into my power, and have been released. If they are disposed to be grateful, they should exhort Pompeius to prefer my

⁴ Cæsar and Pompeius.

¹ Cornelius Balbus.

friendship to that of these people, who have always been the worst enemies to him and to me; by whose artifices it has happened that the Republic has come into this condition.

LETTER VIII.

WHILE I was at dinner on the 14th, and it was late, Statius brought me a short letter from you. Respecting the enquiry you make about L. Torquatus; not only Lucius, but Aulus also is gone,¹ the former several days ago. I am concerned for what you mention about the assemblies of the Reatini, that there should be any seeds of proscription in the Sabine country. I had heard likewise² that many senators were at Rome. Can you tell why they ever left it?³ It is the general opinion in these parts, rather from conjecture, than from any message, or letter, that Cæsar will be at Formiæ the 22d of March. Here now should I like to have that Minerva of Homer, who took the form of Mentor, to whom I might

¹ Gone to join Pompeius.

² The expression "likewise" probably refers to a previous letter from Atticus, and means that Cicero had heard this before he received Atticus's account.

³ Insinuating that they went out to pay court to Cæsar on his return from Brundisium.

say, "Mentor, how shall I go; or how shall I accost him?"⁴ Nothing more difficult ever occurred to me. I think of it however; and at least shall not, as sometimes happens, be taken by surprise. But take care of your health; for I think yesterday was your bad day.

LETTER IX.

I RECEIVED three letters from you on the 16th. They were dated the 12th, 13th, and 14th. I shall therefore reply to them in their order. I agree with you that it is best to remain in Formianum; also about the passage by the Adriatic sea; and, as I mentioned to you before, I will try if I can get his consent to my taking no part in public affairs. What you approve, that I told you I forget the precious conduct and errors of our friend; it is even so. Nay, I remember not those very circumstances which you mention of his misconduct towards me. So much do I desire that my gratitude for his kindness may overpower all sense of his ill treatment. Let us do then, as you advise, and recollect ourselves. For I philosophize as soon I get into the country;

⁴ The original is a verse taken from the beginning of the 3d book of the *Odyssey*.

and in my walks I do not cease to meditate upon the subjects I mentioned to you.¹ But some of them are very difficult to determine. Respecting the principal citizens, be it as you please; but you know that saying, "Dionysius in Corinth."² Titinius's son is with Cæsar. But what you seem to fear, that your advice may displease me; this is so far from being the case, that your opinion and your letters are the only thing that give me pleasure. Therefore continue, as you profess, to write to me whatever comes into your mind. Nothing can be more acceptable to me. I come now to the next letter. You are not rightly informed about the number of Pompeius's soldiers. Clodia mentioned more by one half. The story too about the ships that were destroyed is not true. When you commend the Consuls, I also commend their intentions, though I blame their conduct: for owing to their dispersion the negotiation for peace is prevented, which I was meditating. Accordingly I have sent back to you by Philotimus the treatise of Demetrius upon Concord. I

¹ See the 4th Letter of this Book.

² Dionysius, from being an absolute monarch in Syracuse, became a school master at Corinth. Hence this expression seems to mean that those, who were once great, are liable to be strangely humbled: which Cicero may be supposed to apply to Cæsar, to whose present power even the principal citizens were submitting themselves.

cannot doubt but a most destructive war hangs over us, the first operation of which will be felt in the want of provisions. Yet I am vexed that I have no part in this war, notwithstanding such a load of wickedness will attend it; for, whereas the not supporting a parent is criminal; our chiefs design to destroy that most venerable and sacred parent, their country, by famine. And this I fear, not from conjecture, but from the conversations at which I have been present. All this fleet from Alexandria, Colchis, Tyre, Sidon, Aradus, Cyprus, Pamphylia, Lycia, Rhodes, Chios, Byzantium, Lesbos, Smyrna, Miletus, Cos, is collected for the purpose of intercepting the supplies of Italy, and of occupying the provinces from whence they are drawn. Then in what wrath will he³ come! especially against those, who wish best to their country; as if he had been deserted by those people, whom in fact he deserted. In my doubt therefore what I ought to do, my gratitude towards him has great weight. Were it not for this, I should think it better to perish within my country, than in saving my country to ruin it. Respecting the northern parts,⁴ I think with you; and fear that Epirus may suffer. But what place in Greece do you

³ Pompeius.

⁴ The northern parts of Greece seem here to be intended, among which was situated Atticus's property in Epirus.

suppose will escape being plundered? For he professes openly, and holds out to his soldiers, that even in his bounties he will shew himself the superior. You very justly advise me, when I see Cæsar, not to address him with over-indulgence, but rather to maintain my dignity. And so I shall certainly do. After our meeting I think of going to Arpinum; for I would not be absent when he comes; nor should I like to be running backwards and forwards on so wretched a road. I hear, as you mention, that Bibulus arrived, and returned again the 14th. In the third letter you say that you were expecting Philotimus. He left me on the 15th. This was the reason that the answer, which I wrote immediately upon the receipt of your letter, was later in reaching you. Respecting Domitius, I imagine, as you say, that he is in Cossanum, and that his intention is not known. That base and sordid man,⁵ who says that the Consular comitia may be held by the Prætor, is the same that he always was in the Republic. This is the real meaning of what Cæsar writes in the letter, of which I I sent you a copy,⁶ that he wishes *to avail*

⁵ It is not known who is here meant. Some suppose it to be Lepidus, who was at that time Prætor. The whole of this letter being in reply to those recived from Atticus, may naturally be expected to be obscure by alluding to persons and things there mentioned.

⁶ Inserted after Letter VI.

himself of my advice: well, suppose this to be a general expression: *my influence*: this is absurd; but I imagine he pretends this with regard to some opinions of the Senators: *my dignity*, meaning perhaps the opinion of one of Consular rank: at last comes *my assistance in every thing*. I began to suspect from your letter, that his intention was what I have hinted, or not very different. For it is of great consequence to him that the business should not come to an interregnum.⁷ If the Consuls are created by the Prætor, he gains his point. But in our Augural books we read not only that the Consuls, but even the Prætors, cannot lawfully be created by a Prætor, and that it never has been done. In the case of Consuls it is not allowed, because a higher command cannot be instituted by an inferior one: and in the case of Prætors, because they are elected as assistants to the Consuls, who are of superior authority. He will be very likely to refer this to me, and not to rest satisfied with the opinion of Galba, Scævola, Cassius, Antonius.⁸ “Then may the wide earth gape to receive

⁷ In the absence of the Consuls an Interregnum used to be created to hold the Comitia. In this case Cæsar would not be secure of the Consulship, which he hoped to obtain.

⁸ It is to be supposed that these were Augurs, as well as Cicero, and in Cæsar's interests. It belonged to the Augurs to determine such cases:

“me.”⁹ You see what a storm hangs over me. I will send you the names of the Senators who have passed over, when I have ascertained them. You are quite right about the supplies of corn, which cannot possibly be managed without subsidies:¹⁰ nor is it without reason that you fear those who are about him, full of demands; and dread an iniquitous war. I should be glad to see our friend Trebatius, though, as you say, he has no hope of any thing good. Press him to make haste: for it will be convenient that he should come before Cæsar’s arrival. Respecting Lanuinum, as soon as I heard that Phameas was dead, I wished, if there should ever be a Republic, that one of my friends might buy it. But of you, who are most especially mine, I never thought. For I knew that you use to enquire at how many years’ purchase, and what is the productiveness of the soil; and had seen your book of accounts¹¹ not only at Rome, but at Delos. However, though it is very pretty; yet I should value it lower, than it was valued in the Consulship of Mar-

⁹ Taken from Homer.

¹⁰ It would be necessary for Pompeius to raise money by any means; and his followers would be clamorous for plunder.

¹¹ In the original is Digamma, the signification of which is uncertain; but the context leads to the interpretation I have given.

cellinus, when I thought, on account of the house which I then had at Antium, that those gardens would be pleasanter to me, and less expensive, than the refitting my villa at Tusculum. I offered 500 Sestertia (£4000), through a surety, to whom he might surrender it, when it was to be sold at Antium: but he would not accept it. Now however I imagine every thing of that kind is lowered on account of the scarcity of money. It will be most convenient for me, or rather for us, if you purchase it. Take care not to undervalue his absurdities.¹² The place is exceedingly beautiful: though I look upon all these things as already devoted to destruction. I have answered your three letters; but am expecting others. For hitherto it is your letters that have supported me. Dated on the Liberalia.¹³

LETTER X.

I HAVE nothing to tell you; for I have heard no news, and I answered all your letters yesterday. But while my anxiety not only deprives

¹² That is, the extravagant alterations which Phameas had made.

¹³ The festival of Bacchus, which was celebrated the 18th of March.

me of sleep, but does not even suffer me to be awake without great uneasiness, I have determined to write I know not what, upon no particular subject, that I may, as it were, converse with you ; in which alone I find consolation. I seem to have lost my reason from the beginning ; and this one consideration vexes me, that while Pompeius was sinking, or rather rushing to destruction, I should not in all events have accompanied him, like one of his troop. I saw him on the 19th of January full of alarm ; and from that day I perceived what course he would take. He has never pleased me since, nor has he ever ceased to commit one error after another. In the mean time he has never written to me ; and has thought of nothing but flight. In short, as in affairs of love we are disgusted by a want of cleanliness, of sense, or of delicacy ; so the baseness of his flight, and his neglect, turned away my affection : for his conduct has been void of all merit, that should induce me to join him. But now my affection again rises up ; now I cannot bear to be without him ; now neither books, nor study, nor philosophy afford me any relief ; so that, like Plato's bird,¹ I look upon the sea

¹ Plato wishing to get away from Dionysius the tyrant of Syracuse compared himself to a bird longing to make its escape.

day and night, and long to take my flight. I pay, I pay the penalty of my folly: yet what folly have I committed? What have I not done with due deliberation? For, had I no object besides flight, I might have fled with all readiness; but I shuddered at the idea of a cruel, and extensive war, of which people do not yet see the wretchedness. What threats are held out to the towns? and to good men by name? and in short to all who stay behind? How often does he repeat, "Sulla was able, shall not I be able?" Besides, this stuck with me: Tarquinius acted ill, who excited Porsena and Octavius Mamilius against his country: Coriolanus most undutifully, who solicited succour from the Volsci: Themistocles nobly, who chose rather to die: and Hippias, the son of Pisistratus, was branded with infamy, who fell in the battle of Marathon bearing arms against his country. But Sulla, but Marius, but Cinna, did well, perhaps even rightly; yet what could be more cruel, more destructive, than their victory? A war of this kind I wished to avoid; and the more so, because I saw that still greater cruelties were devised, and prepared. Should I, whom some have called the preserver, the father of that city, bring against it the forces of the Getæ, and Armenians, and Colchans? Should I bring

famine upon my fellow citizens, ruin upon Italy? I considered that this² man in the first place was mortal; then, that he might be destroyed in many ways: but I thought the city, and people, ought, as far as in us lies, to be preserved to immortality. At the same time a certain hope presented itself to me, that some thing might be agreed upon, rather than that either the one should admit such a degree of wickedness, or the other such a degree of profligacy. Now the general concern is altered, and my particular concern is altered with it. To me, as it is expressed in one of your letters, it seems as if the sun had fallen out of the world. As they say of the sick, that while there is life, there is hope; so I, as long as Pompeius was in Italy, did not cease to hope. This, this it was that deceived me; and, to speak the truth, my age already declining from

² This is generally understood of Cæsar; I rather understand it of Pompeius: the sense being, that Cicero was not so to support Pompeius, who might die at any time, as to ruin his country, which ought to be preserved for ever. And this he gives as a reason for not immediately joining Pompeius. He besides still cherished hopes of peace; and that neither Pompeius would be so wicked as to destroy his country; nor Cæsar so profligate as to enslave it. But now that they had thrown off the mask, and shewn their real intentions, and extinguished all idea of accommodation, the whole state of affairs was changed, and Cicero's duty changed likewise.

continual labors towards a state of repose, soothed me with the charm of domestic life. Now, though the attempt be attended with danger, I certainly will attempt to fly away from hence. I ought perhaps to have done it sooner; but the circumstances I have mentioned delayed me, and above all your authority. For when I got to this place I opened the bundle of your letters, which I have under my seal, and keep with the greatest care. In one, that was dated January 23, I find it thus: "But let us see what Cnæus does, and in what direction his designs flow. If he should leave Italy, he will act altogether wrong, and in my judgment inadvisedly: and in that case our plans must be changed." This you write four days after I left the city. Again, on the 25th of January: "Provided our Cnæus does not relinquish Italy as inadvisedly, as he has relinquished the city." The same day you send a second letter, in which you distinctly reply to my questions. It is thus: "I come now to your consultation. If Cnæus leaves Italy, I think you should return to the city: for what end is there of travelling about?" This struck me forcibly: and I now see it to be even so, that a boundless war is united with a wretched flight; which you represent as a travelling. There follows an oracular opinion on the 27th of January: "If

“ Pompeius remains in Italy, and no agree-
“ ment is made, I think there will be a pro-
“ tracted war: but if he leaves Italy, I appre-
“ hend that a war is prepared, which will
“ hereafter be interminable.” In this war I
am obliged to be a partaker, a companion,
and an assistant; a war interminable, and
with fellow citizens! Then on the 7th of
February, when you began already to hear more
of Pompeius’s design, you conclude one of your
letters in this manner: “ I do not indeed ad-
“ vise, if Pompeius leaves Italy, that you should
“ also run away; for you will do it with great
“ risk, and will not benefit the Republic;
“ which you may benefit hereafter, if you re-
“ main.” Who that had any love for his country,
or any public spirit, would not be moved by
such advice, upon the authority of a prudent
man and a friend? Further, on the 11th of
February, you again reply to my inquiries
thus: “ What you ask me, whether I consider
“ a flight in which I preserve my fidelity, or a
“ stay by which I desert it, to be preferable;
“ I certainly think at present that a sudden
“ departure, and precipitate journey would be
“ useless to Cnæus himself, and hazardous to
“ you; and I think it better that your friends
“ should be dispersed, and in places of observa-
“ tion: and in truth I think it disgraceful for
“ us to entertain any design of flight.” This

disgraceful thing our friend Cnæus meditated two years ago; so long has his mind dwelt upon Sulla, and upon proscriptions. Afterwards when, as I imagine, you had written to me something in a more generous strain, and I had supposed some expressions to mean that I should quit Italy,³ you distinctly reprobate this on the 14th of February: "I assure you
" I never meant in any letter to express that
" if Cnæus went out of Italy, you should go
" with him; or if I expressed it, I must have
" been, I do not say an inconsistent man, but
" a mad man." In another part of the same letter; "Nothing is left for him, but flight; but
" I by no means think, or have ever thought,
" that it was your duty to accompany him." But this whole consideration you unfold more particularly in a letter dated the 12th of February: "If M. Lepidus and L. Volcatius remain, I think you ought to remain; yet so,
" that if Pompeius is in safety and makes a
" stand any where, you may leave this ghastly
" troop,⁴ and rather suffer yourself to be defeated in battle with Pompeius, than reign
" with Cæsar among that rabble, to which it
" is evident they will be reduced." You then state many circumstances conformable with this opinion; and in conclusion you say, "What if

³ See Book VIII. Letter II.

⁴ Cæsar's profligate adherents. See Letter XVIII.

“ Lepidus and Volcatius go away? I am completely at a loss: and whatever happens therefore, and whatever you do, I shall think that we ought to be satisfied with it.” If you then doubted, now at least you do not doubt, as they remain. Then, at the very time of his flight, February, 25; “ In the mean time I do not doubt but you will remain in Formianum: for you can there with most convenience wait for what may happen.” On the first of March, when he had already been four days at Brundisium, “ We shall then be able to deliberate, while the cause is not indeed whole and entire, but certainly less infringed, than if you threw yourself away with him.” Again, March 4, when your *ague* was coming on, in consequence of which you wrote very briefly, you add however; “ To-morrow I will write more, and reply to all your observations: so much however I will say, that I do not repent of the advice I gave about your stay; and, though it must be attended with great anxiety, yet as I think it less objectionable, than your going, I continue in the same opinion, and am glad that you have remained.” But when I was uneasy, and afraid lest I might have acted unbecomingly; on the 3d of March you say, “ Nevertheless I am not sorry that you are not with Pompeius. Hereafter, if there is occasion,

“ it will not be difficult ; and whenever it is
“ done, it will be very gratifying to him. But
“ I must add, that if Cæsar goes on to act, as
“ he has begun, with candor, moderation, and
“ prudence, I shall think again, and consider
“ more deliberately what is best to be done.”
On the 9th of March you write also that our
friend Peduceus approves of my remaining
quiet ; and his opinion has great weight with me.
With these letters of yours I comfort myself
by thinking that hitherto I have not done
wrong. Do you only defend your own opi-
nion. With regard to myself it is unnecessary ;
but I want to have others know it. If only
I have not erred, I will take care of the rest.
Let me have your encouragement, and assist
me altogether with your judgment. Nothing
is yet heard about Cæsar’s return. So much
at least I have gained by this letter, that I have
read over all yours, and in so doing have found
consolation.

LETTER XI.

You know our friend Lentulus is at Puteoli.
Upon hearing this from a passenger ; who said
that he recognised him on the Appian road,
where he was travelling in a litter partly
opened ; however improbable it might be, yet

I sent a servant to Puteoli to ascertain the fact, and sent a letter to him. He found him just secluding himself in his villa, from whence he wrote back to me full of gratitude to Cæsar, and saying that he had delivered to C. Cæcius instructions for me about his future plans: him I expect to day, that is the 20th of March. Matius also came to me the 19th, a man, as he has appeared to me, temperate and prudent; and has always been supposed to be in favor of peace. How much he seemed to disapprove these proceedings! How much to dread that ghastly troop, as you call them! In a long conversation which I had with him, I shewed him Cæsar's letter to me, of which I before sent you a copy, and asked him to explain to me what it was he meant by saying that he wished to avail himself of my advice, my influence, my dignity, my assistance in every thing.¹ He replied, that he had no doubt he wanted my assistance and influence to promote an accommodation. Would that it were possible for me to effect, or help forward, any measure of public utility in this wretched state of the country! Matius likewise was persuaded that he was so disposed, and promised that he would himself advise it. Yesterday Crassipes was with me, who said that he had come from Brundisium the 6th of March, and had left

¹ See Letter ix.

Pompeius there; which was the report also of those who had come from thence on the 8th. And all agreed (amongst whom was Crassipes also, who would listen with more prudence²) that they used threatening language, unfriendly towards the principal citizens, hostile to the towns, mere proscriptions, mere Sullas:³ that Lucceius, that all Greece, that Theophanes also talked in this manner. Yet in these people is all our hope of safety; and I watch in my mind, and take no rest, and in order to avoid the calamities at home am wishing to be with persons most unlike myself. For, what excess do you suppose Scipio, and Faustus, and Libo,⁴ will not commit? Whose creditors are said to be meeting.⁵ And, if they are successful, how will they harass the citizens? But what distant views do they relate of our Cnæus? that he thinks of going to Egypt, and Arabia, and Mesopotamia, and has laid aside all idea of Spain. Such stories are monstrous; but perhaps they are not true. Assuredly things are both ruinous here, and there by no means well disposed. I am already wishing to hear from

² There is some obscurity, and perhaps some error, in the text.

³ This is represented as the disposition of Pompeius's party; of whom Lucceius and Theophanes were principal advisers.

⁴ These were of Pompeius's party.

⁵ To make a sale of their goods.

you. Since my retreat from the city, there has never been on my part any interruption of our correspondence. I send you a copy of my letter to Cæsar, by which I hope to produce some effect.

Cicero, Imperator, to Cæsar, Imperator.

UPON reading your letter,¹ which I received by my friend Furnius, relative to my being in the city, I was not so much surprised at your *wishing to avail yourself of my advice, and dignity*: but I asked myself what you meant by *my influence, and assistance*. And I was led by my hopes to this conclusion; that, agreeably to your admirable and singular prudence, I supposed you might wish some steps to be taken for the tranquillity, the peace, the union of the citizens: and for that purpose I thought my character, and person, sufficiently suited. Which if it be so, and if you are touched with any regard for protecting my friend Pompeius, and reconciling him with yourself and the republic, you will indeed find nobody more ready, than I am, in such a cause; having always been to him, and to the Senate, as soon as I could, the counsellor of peace. Nor have I by taking up arms had any part in the war; but have thought that you were injured in it,

¹ The letter alluded to is subjoined to Letter vi. of this Book.

and that unfriendly and envious persons were resisting the honor,² which had been granted you by the favor of the Roman people. But, as at that time I not only supported your dignity, but also got others to assist you; so now am I greatly interested for the dignity of Pompeius. It is now some years since I selected you two, whom I might particularly cultivate, and with whom I might be, as I am, in the strictest friendship. I therefore request of you, or rather I beg and entreat you with all earnestness, that among your great cares you would allot some time also to this consideration, that by your favor I may be enabled to sustain the part of a good man, grateful, and dutiful in the remembrance of the greatest benefits.³ If this concerned myself only, I should nevertheless hope to obtain it from you; but, as I conceive, it concerns both your own plighted faith, and the Republic, that out of a few I should be reserved by your means, as one particularly suited to renew the harmony of you two, and of the citizens. Though I have before thanked you on account of Lentulus, whom you have saved, as he did me; yet upon reading the

² The power of being eligible to the Consulship without coming to Rome and laying down his command.

³ Pompeius, and Lentulus, of whom he speaks soon after, were instrumental in procuring Cicero's recall from banishment.

letter, which he wrote to me full of gratitude for your liberality and kindness,⁴ I considered myself to have received from you the same benefit you have conferred upon him. If then you perceive that I am grateful towards him ; give me the power of being so likewise towards Pompeius.⁵

LETTER XI*.¹

I AM not sorry for what you say about my letter² being made public ; and have even myself allowed several people to take copies of it. For after what has happened, and still threatens us, I should be well pleased to have my sentiments recorded concerning a peace. But in recommending this, especially to such a man, I thought there was no readier means of moving him, than by affirming that the measure, to which I exhorted him, was worthy of his prudence. And if I have spoken of his prudence in terms of admiration, while I was calling

⁴ Lentulus had been captured at Corfinium, and immediately liberated by Cæsar.

⁵ By not being obliged to assist in any measures against him.

¹ This, which ought obviously to follow Cicero's letter to Cæsar, is taken from the beginning of Book VIII. Letter IX.

² To Cæsar, subjoined to Book IX. Letter VI.

upon him to save his country, I am not afraid of appearing to flatter a man, at whose feet I would willingly have thrown myself in such a cause. But where it is said, *that you would allot some time*; this is not that he should consider about peace; but about me, and my duty.³ For when I affirm that I have not engaged in the war; although it is evident from the fact; yet I added it for the purpose of giving weight to my persuasion. And it is with the same view that I approve his cause. But why is this brought forward now? Would that any good had followed! Nay, I should be glad to have my letter read in the public assembly; since Pompeius himself made public his own letter to him, in which he says, *for your most distinguished conduct*.⁴ More distinguished than his own? than that of Africanus? Such was the current of the times. Even you two,⁵ so respected, go to meet him at the fifth mile stone. What? to meet him on his return from whence? doing what? or purposing to do what? With what additional spirit will he trust in his cause, when he sees you, and others like you, greeting him not only with their numbers, but with cheerful looks? Am I then to

³ The duty he owed to Pompeius.

⁴ Book VII. Letter XXVI.

⁵ Perhaps Atticus and Sext. Peduceus. Book VII. Letter

blame? I do not mean at all to accuse you : but the marks, which should distinguish real good will, from mere pretence, are strangely confounded. But what decrees of the Senate do I foresee? I am speaking however more openly, than I had intended. I mean to be at Arpinum the last day of the month, and thence to visit my several villas, which I despair of seeing afterwards.

LETTER XII.

WHILE I was reading your letter, on the 20th of March, I received one from Lepta, informing me that Pompeius was surrounded, and that even the passage out of the harbour was occupied with rafts. I cannot bear to think, or write, the rest for weeping. I send you a copy of it. Wretched as we are! why did we not all follow his destiny? The same intelligence is brought from Matius and Trebatius, who met with Cæsar's messengers at Minturnæ. I am distracted with grief, and already envy the fate of Mucius.¹ But how honorable, how clear are your counsels! how well considered,

¹ Q. Mucius Scævola was killed in a former civil war by order of Marius. This is before alluded to. Book VIII. Letter III.

respecting my journey by land, my passage by sea, my meeting, and conversation with Cæsar! All is at once honorable and cautious. And how kind, how generous, how brotherly, is your invitation to Epirus! I am surprised about Dionysius, who was treated by me with more honor, than Panætius was by Scipio, and yet has most foully insulted this present state of my fortune. I hate the man, and will hate him, and wish I could punish him; but his own humour will punish him sufficiently. Now especially I beg you to consider what I ought to do. An army of the Roman people invests Cn. Pompeius! keeps him enclosed with a trench and rampart! prevents his escape! Do I live? And is the city standing? Do the Prætors continue to pronounce judgment? Do the Ædiles prepare the public games? Do substantial men continue to register their interest? And² do I myself sit idle? Should I madly endeavour to go thither, to implore the faith of the towns? The honest will not follow me; the inconsiderate will laugh at me; and those who are eager for a change, especially being armed and victorious, will use

² That is, do things go on as usual? or are not all orders of men eager to vindicate the country from such monstrous proceedings? Not unlike to this is that of Catullus, *Quid est Catulle, quid moraris emori?*

violence and lay hands upon me. What think you then? Have you any counsel for the remains of this wretched life? I am grieved, and vexed; while some think me prudent, or fortunate, in not having gone with him. But I think otherwise. For though I never wished to be his companion in victory, I should desire to be so in adversity. Why should I now request your letters, your prudence, or kindness? The thing is over. Nothing can now help me, who have not even any thing left to wish for, but that he may be delivered by some compassion of the enemy.³ I suspect that the account of the rafts is not true. Else what is it that Dolabella means in this letter, which he sent from Brundisium the 13th of March, calling it the good fortune of Cæsar, that Pompeius should be on his flight; and that he would sail with the first wind? Which is very different from those letters, of which I before sent you copies. Here they talk of more cruelties. But there is no later, or better authority, than that of Dolabella.

³ Cicero probably received Dolabella's letter subsequently to his writing the above. This may perhaps be intimated by the expression *his litteris*, which I have therefore endeavoured to preserve in the translation: the letter, or a copy of it, might have been enclosed.

LETTER XIII.

I RECEIVED your letter on the 22d, in which you defer all counsel to that time, when we shall have learned what has been done. In truth so it must be; nor in the interval can any thing be determined, or even planned; although the recent letter of Dolabella encourages me to resume my former considerations: for, on the 18th there was a favorable wind, of which I suppose he would take advantage. The collection of your¹ opinions was not brought together for the sake of lamentation, but rather for my consolation. For I was not so much distressed with these calamities, as with the suspicion of my own fault, or folly: these thoughts I now dismiss, since my conduct and counsels have the sanction of your judgment. When you say that my being under such great obligations to him, is more a matter of acknowledgment on my part, than of desert on his; it is so. I have always extolled to the utmost what he did; and the more, that he might not suppose I harboured the remembrance of what had past before.²

¹ Letter x.

² When Pompeius did not exert himself, as he might, to prevent Cicero's banishment.

Which however well I may remember, yet now it becomes me to follow the pattern of his conduct at that time.³ He gave me no assistance, when it was in his power; and afterward he became friendly, indeed extremely so, from what reason I know not. I will therefore do the same to him. Moreover, this is alike in both of us, that we have been led into error by the very same people.⁴ I only wish I were able to assist him, as much as he was able to assist me. What he did however is most grateful to me. But I neither know in what manner I can now help him; nor, if I could, should I think it right to do so while he is preparing such a deadly war. I would only avoid giving him offence by staying here. I can neither bear to see what you may already anticipate in your mind; nor to take a part in those calamities. I have been the slower in removing, because it is difficult to make up one's mind to a voluntary departure without any hope of returning. For I perceive that Cæsar is so well provided with infantry, with cavalry, with fleets, with auxiliaries from Gaul; which latter Matius, a

³ When, after neglecting Cicero's interests in the first instance, he afterwards was active in his recall; as he goes on to explain.

⁴ Meaning probably Bibulus, Luceius, and others, who had formerly been envious and jealous of Cicero; (Book iv. Letter v.) and had more recently led on Pompeius to his present fortune, and then deserted him.

little ostentatiously I suspect, but certainly estimated at 10,000 foot, and 6000 horse, to be furnished at their own expense for ten years : but, supposing this to be an exaggeration, he has certainly great forces ; and he will have for their support, not subsidies, like Pompeius,⁵ but the property of the citizens. Add to this the confidence of the man ; add the weakness of all those attached to the Republic ; who, because they think Pompeius may with reason be angry with them, therefore hate the game, as you call it ; would it were such ! You say too that one had observed, “ that fellow sits “ idle,” because he had professed more than he performed ;⁶ and generally those who once loved him, love him no longer ; but the towns, and country people are afraid of him, and hitherto are fond of Cæsar : from all this, I say, he is so well provided, that even if he should not be able to conquer, yet how he can himself be conquered, I do not see. But I fear no fascination⁷ from this man so much

⁵ See Letter ix.

⁶ I give this translation of an obscure, and perhaps faulty passage, not without great hesitation. I propose to point the Latin thus. *Oderunt, ut tu scribis, ludum ; ac vellem ! scribis quisnam hic significasset, “ Sedet iste ;” quia plus ostenderat, quam fecit.*

⁷ Cicero here employs a Greek word, which is probably copied from an expression of Atticus, to which this is meant as a reply.

as the persuasion of necessity. "For you must know, says Plato, that the requests of tyrants are blended with necessity." I see you do not approve of those places which have no harbour; and indeed they did not please me; but I could be there without observation, and with a trusty attendance; which if I could have at Brundisium, I should like it better. But there it is impossible to be concealed. But, as you say, when we shall have learned.⁸ I am not anxious to exculpate myself to your good men. For what dinners does Sextus inform me they are giving and receiving? How luxurious? How festive?⁹ But be these people as good as they may, they are not better than ourselves: they might move me if they had more courage.¹⁰ I was mistaken about Phamea's Lanuinum;¹¹ I was dreaming of his Trojanum. It was for that I offered 500 Sestertia (£4000). But the other is worth more.

⁸ This refers to what is said in the beginning of this letter.

⁹ Consisting of persons of the same age, or condition; and thence coming to signify "festive." See Letter i. of this Book. The same word is elsewhere employed by Cicero in conjunction with some substantive of similar import.

¹⁰ If they shewed more courage in support of the Republic.

¹¹ See Letter ix.

I should wish however that you might buy it, if I saw any hope of enjoying it. What strange things are daily reported, you will know from the note¹² enclosed in my letter. My friend Lentulus is at Puteoli pining with grief, as Cæcius relates. What should he do? He dreads a repetition of the disgrace of Corfinium: he now thinks he has done enough for Pompeius; and is moved by Cæsar's kindness; but yet is more moved by the actual state of affairs. Can you bear this? Every thing is wretched, but nothing more wretched than this; that Pompeius has sent M. Magius to propose conditions of peace, and is yet besieged; which I did not at first believe; but I have received a letter from Balbus, of which I send you a copy. Read it, I beseech you, and that paragraph of Balbus himself, the excellent Balbus!¹³ to whom our friend Cnæus gave a piece of ground to erect a villa; whom he often distinguished by a preference to any of us. So, he is sadly distressed! But that you may not have to read the same thing twice, I refer you to the letter itself. As to any hope of peace, I have none. Dolabella, in his letter of March 15, speaks of nothing

¹² Perhaps this may mean Lepta's report which Cicero had sent to Atticus with the preceding letter.

¹³ This is said ironically.

but war. I must remain then in that same wretched and desperate determination,¹⁴ since nothing can be more wretched than this.¹⁵

Balbus to Cicero, Imperator.

I HAVE received a short letter from Cæsar, of which I subjoin a copy. By the shortness of it you may judge how greatly he is occupied, who writes so briefly upon so important a subject. If there should be any further news, I will immediately write to you.

“ Cæsar to Oppius, and to Cornelius.

“ I ARRIVED at Brundisium the 9th of March.
“ I pitched my camp close to the wall. Pom-
“ peius is in Brundisium. He has sent M.
“ Magius to me to treat of peace. I made
“ such reply as seemed proper. This I wished
“ you immediately to know. When I enter-
“ tain hope of accomplishing any thing towards
“ an agreement, I will immediately inform
“ you.”

How do you imagine, my Cicero, that I am now distressed, after being again brought to have some hope of peace, lest any thing should prevent their agreement? For, in my absence

¹⁴ To pass over to Pompeius.

¹⁵ The remaining in Italy a witness to the ruin of the state, and to the pretences of false friends.

all I can do is to wish. If I were there, I might perhaps seem to be of some use. Now I am in a cruel state of expectation.

LETTER XIV.

I SENT you on the 24th a copy of Balbus's letter to me, and of Cæsar's to him; and the very same day I received one from Q. Pedius, informing me that Cæsar had written to him the 14th of March in the following terms. "Pompeius keeps within the town. We are
"encamped before the gates. We are attempt-
"ing a great work, which must occupy many
"days on account of the depth of the sea;
"but there is nothing better to be done: we
"are constructing piers from each extremity
"of the port, so as either to oblige him to
"transport immediately the forces he has at
"Brundisium, or to prevent him from getting
"out." Where is the peace, about which Balbus professed himself to be so distressed? Can any thing be more bitter? any thing more cruel? And some confidently relate that he talks of avenging the sufferings of Cn. Carbo, and M. Brutus,¹ and of all those who had felt

¹ They had been put to death by Pompeius.

the cruelty of Sulla while Pompeius was his associate: that Curio under his command did nothing, which Pompeius had not done under the command of Sulla: that to serve his own views he had recalled those only, who by the former laws² were not liable to banishment; but that Pompeius had recalled from exile the very traitors to their country: that he complained of Milo's being driven out by violence:³ that, however, he should punish nobody, but those who were found in arms. This was contradicted by one Bæbius who came from Curio on the 13th, a man not without some eloquence; but who may not say so to any body?⁴ I am quite at a loss what to do. I imagine Cnæus is now gone from thence. What is really the case, we must know in two days' time. I have heard nothing from you, nor is Anteros⁵ arrived, who might bring a letter from you. But it is no wonder; for what can we write? Nevertheless I omit no day. After I had finished my letter, I received one, before it was light, from Lepta at Capua, informing me that Pompeius had embarked from Brundisium the 15th of

² Previous to those made by Pompeius. See Book x. Letter iv.

³ At the time of Milo's trial the forum had been occupied by armed men under the direction of Pompeius.

⁴ This seems to be the most obvious interpretation of the text, which has been variously understood.

⁵ One of Atticus's freedmen.

March; and that Cæsar was to be at Capua the 26th.

LETTER XV.

AFTER I had sent my letter to inform you that Cæsar was to be at Capua on the 26th, I received one from Capua, saying that he would be with Curio in Albanum the 28th. As soon as I have seen him, I shall go to Arpinum. If he grants me the permission I ask, I shall accede to his terms; if not, I shall make terms for myself.¹ He has, as he wrote to me, placed single legions at Brundisium, Tarentum, and Sipontum. He seems to be closing up the passages by sea; and yet himself to look rather to Greece, than to Spain. But these are more distant considerations. At present I am worried with the idea of meeting him; for he is just here; and I dread his first steps. For I imagine he will want a decree of the Senate, he will want a warrant of the Augurs (and I shall be hurried away,² or shall be exposed to

¹ The meaning is, that if Cæsar did not accede to the proposal of Cicero's absenting himself when any business was agitated against Pompeius, he should without leave retire from Italy.

² Shall be obliged to go to Rome, as a Senator and Augur, to assist at these measures.

great vexation if I absent myself) either for the Prætor to propose the Consuls, or to nominate a Dictator; neither of which is consistent with law. But if Sulla could procure his own appointment to the Dictatorship by an Interrex, why may not Cæsar? I cannot resolve the difficulty, unless by suffering under one, the punishment of Q. Mucius; or under the other that of L. Scipio.³ By the time you read this, our interview will perhaps have taken place—"Bear up, my heart, you have born a "severer trial."⁴ No, not that which was peculiarly my own. For then there was hope of an early return; there was a general complaint: now I am anxious to get away, and any idea of returning never enters my mind. Besides, there is not only no complaint among the provincial towns, and country people; but on the contrary they fear Pompeius, as cruel, and exasperated. Yet nothing is to me a greater source of sorrow, than that I should have remained; nor any thing which I more desire, than to fly away; not so much to be the companion of his warfare, as of his flight. You deferred giving any opinion till such time as we should know what had been done at

³ In the time of the former civil wars, Q. Mucius had been put to death by Marius; L. Scipio proscribed by Sulla.

⁴ The original is taken from Homer. Cicero applies it to his former sufferings in his banishment.

Brundisium. Now then we know; nevertheless my doubts continue. For I can scarcely hope that he will grant me the permission I want, though I produce many just reasons for it. But I will immediately send you an exact account of all that passes between us. Do you strive with all affection to assist me with your care and prudence. He comes so soon, that I shall not be able even to see Trebatius,⁵ as I had appointed. Every thing must be done without preparation. But as Mentor says to Telemachus,—“ You would provide one thing, “ but the Deity provides another.” Whatever I do, you shall immediately know it. As for any dispatches from Cæsar to the Consuls and to Pompeius, about which you ask, I have none. What Ægypta brought, I sent to you before on my way hither; from which I think the dispatches may be understood. Philippus is at Naples, Lentulus at Puteoli; respecting Domitius, continue to enquire, as you do, where he is, and what are his intentions. When you say that I have expressed myself about Dionysius with more asperity than is consistent with my disposition, you must know that I am one of the old school, and imagined you would bear this insult with more indignation, than myself. For besides that I thought you ought

⁵ So I read it agreeably to Letter ix, wherein Cicero expressed his wish to see Trebatius before Cæsar's arrival.

to be moved at the ill-treatment I might have received from any body ; this man has in some measure injured you also by his misconduct towards me. But how much you value this, I leave to your own judgment ; nor in this do I wish to impose any burden upon you. For my own part, I always thought him a little crazy ; but now I also think him disingenuous, and wicked ; yet not more an enemy to me, than to himself. You have been properly careful towards Philargyrus ; you certainly had a just and good cause ; that I was myself deserted, rather than that I deserted him.⁶ After I had delivered my letter, on the 25th, the servant, whom I had sent to Trebatius also, as well as to Matius, brought back a letter, of which the following is a copy.

Matius and Trebatius to Cicero, Imperator.

AFTER we had had left Capua, we heard on our road that Pompeius had gone from Brundisium the 17th of March with all his troops : that Cæsar had entered into the town the day following, and having harangued the people, had proceeded from thence towards Rome, and hoped to be in the city before the first of April, and then, after staying there a few days, to set

⁶ This probably means Dionysius, on whose subject Atticus might have spoken to Philargyrus in exculpation of Cicero's conduct towards him.

out for Spain. We have thought it advisable, having for certain this account of Cæsar's motions, to send your servant back, that you might know it as soon as possible. We will attend to your instructions, and execute them as occasion requires. Trebatius Scævola hopes to be with you in time.¹ Since writing our letter, we have been told that Cæsar means to pass the 25th of March at Beneventum, the 26th at Capua, the 27th at Sinuessa. We believe this may be depended upon.

LETTER XVI.

THOUGH I have nothing particular to tell you, yet, not to omit any day, I send this letter. They say that Cæsar will stop on the 27th at Sinuessa. I received a letter from him the 26th, in which he now expects *every kind of assistance* from me, not simply my assistance, as in his former letter. Upon my writing to commend his clemency in the affair of Corfinium, he replied in the following terms.

Cæsar, Imperator, to Cicero, Imperator.

You rightly conceive of me (for I am well known to you) that nothing can be further from my disposition, than cruelty. And while

¹ Before Cæsar's arrival.

I have great pleasure in the transaction itself, I rejoice with triumph that what I have done meets with your approbation. Nor does it disturb me, that those, whom I have set at liberty, are said to have gone away in order again to make war upon me ; for I wish nothing more, than that I should be like myself, and they like themselves. I should be glad to have you in the city, that on all occasions I may avail myself of your advice and every kind of assistance, as I have been used to do. Let me assure you that nothing can be more agreeable to me than your Dolabella. To him accordingly I shall owe this favor ;¹ for he cannot do otherwise ; such is his kindness, his feeling, and his affection towards me.

LETTER XVII.

I WRITE this on the 28th, on which day I expect Trebatius. From his report, and from Matius's letter, I shall consider how I am to regulate my conversation with him.² O sad time ! And I have no doubt but he will press me to go to the city : for he has ordered it to be publicly announced even at Formiæ, that

¹ Of persuading Cicero to go to Rome.

² Cæsar.

he wishes to have a full attendance of the Senate on the first of April. Must I then refuse him? But why anticipate? I will immediately write you an account of every thing. From what passes between us I shall determine whether I should go to Arpinum, or elsewhere. I wish to invest my young Cicero with the manly robe,² and I think of doing it there. Consider, I beg you, what course I should take afterwards; for anxiety has made me stupid. I should be glad to know if you have received from Curius any account of Tiro.³ For Tiro himself has written to me in such a manner, as makes me fearful how he may be; and those who come from thence only say so much, that he is going on well.⁴ In the midst of great cares this also troubles me; for in this state of things his assistance and fidelity would be extremely useful.

² This was usually done at the age of 17.

³ Cicero had left him sick at Patræ. See Book VII. Letter II.

⁴ The text is perhaps faulty. It may however be understood according to the above interpretation by pointing it thus—*id modo nuntiant; Sane. In magnis, &c.*

LETTER XVIII.

I HAVE done both according to your advice; having ordered my discourse so, that he should rather think well of me, than thank me;¹ and having adhered to my intention of not going to the city. I was mistaken in supposing that he would easily be persuaded: I never knew any body less so. He said that he stood condemned by my resolution; and that others would be slower to comply, if I refused to attend. I replied, that their case was different from mine.² After a good deal of discussion, "Come then," said he, "and propose terms of peace. "At my own discretion?" said I. "Have I," said he, "any right to prescribe to you?" "This," I replied, "is what I shall propose; that it is not agreeable to the Senate, that troops should be sent to Spain, or that an army should be transported into Greece; and I shall lament at some length the situation of Pompeius." Then he—"But I do not like that to be said." "So I supposed,"

¹ Rather esteem me for my attachment to Pompeius, than thank me for compliance with his own wishes.

² Others were not under the same obligations to Pompeius.

said I; "and for that reason I wish to absent myself; because I must either say this, and much more, which it will be impossible for me to withhold if I am there; or else I must stay away." The conclusion was, that, as if he wished to get rid of the subject, he desired I would consider of it. This I could not refuse. So we parted. I imagine he was not much pleased with me; but I am pleased with myself, which I have not been for some time past. As for the rest, O Gods, what an attendance! Or, as you use to say, what a ghastly troop! Among whom was the Eros³ of Celer. O ruinous state! O desperate forces! What think you of Servius's son? and Titinius's? How many have been in that very camp, by which Pompeius was besieged! Six legions! He is himself extremely vigilant, and daring. I see no end of evil. Now at least you must deliver your opinion. What I have mentioned was the last thing that passed between us; yet his winding up, which I had almost omitted, was ungracious; that if he was not permitted to use my advice, he should use whose he could, and should think nothing beneath him. You see the man then, as you expressed it. "Were you grieved?" Undoubtedly. "Pray what followed?" He went directly to Pedanum,

³ Supposed to be some freedman.

I to Arpinum. Thence I look for your warbler.⁴ "Plague on it," you will say, "do not act over again what is past: even he, whom we follow,"⁵ "has been much disappointed." But I expect your letter: for nothing is now, as it was before, when you proposed that we should see first how this would turn out. The last subject of doubt related to our interview; in which I question not that I have given Cæsar some offence. This is a reason for determining the quicker. Pray let me have a letter from you, and a political one. I am very anxious to hear from you.

LETTER XIX.

I HAVE given my young Cicero the plain toga¹ at Arpinum,² in preference to any other place,

⁴ This is probably taken from some expression used by Atticus, and meant to denote the harbinger of spring, at which season Cicero would sail.

⁵ "Whom we follow," I imagine to be said by Cicero in his own person, thereby meaning Pompeius, though the sentence, in which this stands, is put into the mouth of Atticus.

¹ The toga worn in mature age was without the purple border, which distinguished the *prætecta* of youth, and was therefore called the plain toga, or manly toga.

² Arpinum was the place of Cicero's birth, where he continued to have a family seat.

as there was no going to Rome: and this was kindly received by my fellow-countrymen: though I saw the people there, and wherever I passed, afflicted and downcast; so sad, and so dreadful is the contemplation of this great calamity. Levies are making; and troops taking up their winter quarters. And if these measures, even when adopted by good citizens, in prosecution of a just war, and conducted with moderation, are yet in themselves grievous; how harsh do you suppose they now are, when they are adopted by desperate men, in a profligate civil war, and with all insolence? For you may be assured there is not an abandoned man in Italy, who is not among them. I saw myself the whole body at Formiæ; and in truth never thought they deserved the name of men. I knew them all; but had never seen them together. Let me away then, whither I may, and relinquish all I possess. Let me go to him, who will be more glad to see me, than if I had originally been of his company. For then we had the greatest hope; now, I at least have none: yet, besides myself, nobody has left Italy, who did not believe Cæsar to be his enemy. And I do this not for the sake of the Republic, which I look upon as utterly extinguished; but that nobody may think me ungrateful towards him, who raised me out of the difficulties which he had brought upon me;

and, at the same time, that I may not witness what is doing, or at least what will be done. Indeed I imagine that some decrees of the Senate have already been passed: I wish it may be in favor of Volcatius's opinion.³ Yet what does it signify? for all are of one mind. But Servius will be the most to blame, who sent his son to destroy Cn. Pompeius, or at least to take him prisoner,⁴ with Pontius Titinianus.⁵ This latter was actuated by fear;⁶ but the former—But let us cease to rail, and at length come to some conclusion; though I have nothing new but this, which I wish were the shortest possible, that there is life remaining.⁷ The Adriatic sea being closely guarded, I shall sail by the Tyrrhenian; and if the passage from Puteoli be difficult, I shall make my way to Croton, or Thurii; and, good citizens as we are, and attached to our country, shall go to infest the sea.⁸ I see no other

³ To propose terms of peace.

⁴ The object of Cæsar's army at Brundisium could be nothing but either to destroy Pompeius, or to make him prisoner.

⁵ This must be the same as Titinius's son mentioned before, Letter XVIII.

⁶ The fear of being ruined by Cæsar, if he had not joined him.

⁷ The text is obscure, and very probably corrupt, so that I offer this translation without any confidence.

⁸ That is, shall go to join Pompeius, even though his

manner of conducting this war. We go to bury ourselves in Egypt.⁹ We cannot be a match for Cæsar with our army; and there is no reliance on peace. But all this has been abundantly deplored. I should be glad if you would deliver to Cephalion¹⁰ a letter about every thing that is done, even about the conversation of people; unless they are quite dumbfounded. I have followed your advice, especially by maintaining in our interview the dignity I ought, and persisting in not going up to the city. It only remains to beg you will inform me as distinctly as possible (for there is no time to lose) what you approve, and what you think: though there is no longer any doubt. Yet if any thing, or rather, whatever, occurs to your mind, pray let me know it.

present purpose be to intercept the supplies of his country; for at that time Italy was furnished with corn by importation chiefly from Sicily and Egypt.

⁹ See Letter xi.

¹⁰ The bearer, it is to be supposed, of Cicero's letter.

BOOK X.

LETTER I.

ON the 3d of April having come to my brother's house at Laterium¹ I received your letter, and was a little revived; which had not been the case since this ruination. For I most highly value your approbation of my firmness,² and conduct. And when you tell me that Sextus also approves it, I am as much pleased as if I thought I had the commendation of his father, for whose judgment I always entertained the greatest respect: who formerly said to me, what I often recollect, on that 5th of December,³ when I asked him, "Sextus, what then do you advise?" "Let me not die," said he

¹ This place was close to Arpinum. It is mentioned Book iv. Letter vii.

² In resisting Cæsar's wishes about going to Rome. See Book ix. Letter xviii.

³ Distinguished by the vigorous measures adopted in the Catilinarian conspiracy by Cicero, who was then Consul.

in the words of Homer, "indolently and ignobly; but after some great deed, which may be heard by generations to come." His authority therefore lives with me; and his son, who is like him, has the same weight with me, which the father had. I beg you to make my kindest compliments to him. Though you defer giving your opinion to no distant period; (for I imagine that hired peace-maker⁴ has already summed up; already something has been done in that assembly of Senators; for I do not esteem it a Senate) yet by that you keep me in suspense; the less so however, because I cannot doubt of your opinion about what I ought to do.⁵ Why else should you mention Flavius's having a legion and the province of Sicily, and that this is already carried into effect? What crimes, think you, are partly in preparation, and now contriving; partly on the point of being executed? And should I disregard that law of Solon, your fellow citizen,⁶ as I esteem it, and mine too, who made it a capital crime to join neither party in a

⁴ Who is here meant, is uncertain. He appears to have been bought over by Cæsar, and probably a tedious speaker, by what is said of his summing up.

⁵ Namely, that I should quit Italy, now that Cæsar assumes tyrannical authority.

⁶ An Athenian to which title not only Atticus, but Cicero might reasonably aspire, from his attachment to Athens.

civil commotion? Unless you are of a different opinion, both I and the children⁷ shall away from hence. But one of these is more certain, than the other:⁸ I shall not however be in a hurry; I shall wait for your advice, and for the letter which I desired you would send by Cephalion,⁹ unless you have already sent another. When you say, not that you had heard it from any other quarter; but that you thought within yourself, I should be induced to go up, if the question of peace were agitated; it has never entered into my mind that any question of peace can be agitated, while it is most certainly his wish, if possible, to deprive Pompeius of his army and province: unless perhaps that summary speaker¹⁰ can persuade him to be quiet, whilst the negotiators go backwards and forwards. I see nothing now that I can hope, or think possible to be done: yet this deserves the attention of an upright man, and is a great political question; whether one should enter into the counsels of a tyrant, when he is going to

⁷ His son, and nephew.

⁸ His own departure was more certain, than that of the boys.

⁹ See Book ix. Letter xix.

¹⁰ I apprehend this to allude to the hired peacemaker mentioned in the former part of this letter, and to be spoken in mockery of his tedious speeches, *summarius* being equivalent to *perorasse*.

deliberate on some good cause. Therefore if it should happen that I am summoned (which I do not regard: for I told him what I should say upon the subject of peace,¹¹ which he strongly reprobated) but yet if it should happen, let me know what you think I ought to do. Nothing has yet occurred which is more deserving of consideration. I am glad you were pleased with Trebatius's report; he is a good man, and a good citizen; and your own repeated expression of "over well,"¹² is the only thing that has hitherto given me satisfaction. I eagerly expect a letter from you, which I imagine has already been sent. You¹³ and Sextus have maintained the same dignity, which you recommend to me. Your friend Celer is more eloquent, than wise. What you heard from Tullia about the young men, is true. What you mention about M. Antonius,¹⁴ appears to me

¹¹ Book ix. Letter xviii.

¹² I have thought it best to render this quite literally, *over well* not being more constrained in English, than *ὑπερῶν* seems to be in Greek. It may probably have been an expression familiar to Atticus in his ordinary conversation.

¹³ The following part of this letter seems to be a post-script subsequent to the receipt of one from Atticus, to which it alludes.

¹⁴ It is doubtful to what this alludes; and indeed it is doubtful if the text be correct.

not so bad in fact, as in sound. This irresolution, in which I now am, is as bad as death : for I ought either to have acted with freedom among the ill disposed ; or, even at some hazard, to have joined the good party. “ Let “ us either follow the rash measures of the “ good ; or let us lash the boldness of the “ wicked.”¹⁵ Both are attended with danger : but the course I take, is not dishonorable, and yet is not safe. I do not think that he,¹⁶ who sent his son to Brundisium on the subject of peace (about which I entertain the same sentiments as you, that it is a palpable pretence, and that war is preparing with all vigour) is likely to be appointed. Of this, as I hoped, no mention has hitherto been made.¹⁷ I have

¹⁵ I suspect this sentence to be a quotation produced in illustration of what immediately precedes : otherwise it is odd that the same observation should be repeated with so little variation.

¹⁶ Perhaps Balbus : the younger Balbus, who was his nephew by birth, being his son by adoption. See Book VIII. Letter IX.

¹⁷ I understand this to mean that no mention had been made of appointing any body to negotiate with Pompeius ; and he was glad of it, not because he did not wish for peace, but because he saw that all overtures for that purpose would be insincere on the part of Cæsar, and only designed either to allay the clamours of some well meaning persons in Italy, or to embarrass and cast an odium upon Pompeius.

therefore the less occasion to write, or even to think what I should do, in case I were appointed.

LETTER II.

I RECEIVED your letter the 5th of April, which was brought by Cephaliö; and had designed to remain the following day at Minturnæ, and thence immediately to embark; but I stopped at my brother's house in Arcanum, that, till the arrival of some surer information,¹ I might be less observed, and yet every thing might be done,² which could be done without me. The warbler is now here,³ and I am eager to be off, no matter whither, or by what passage. But this will be for my consideration with those who understand it.⁴ Continue, as far as you can, to assist me with your counsels, as you have hitherto done. The state of affairs is incapable of being disentangled: every thing must be left to fortune. I struggle without any

¹ Information respecting Cæsar's proceedings; as appears by the subsequent letter.

² Preparatory to his embarkation.

³ See Book ix. Letter xviii.

⁴ The captain of the vessel, and others acquainted with naval affairs.

hope. If any thing better should occur, it will be a surprise. I hope Dionysius has not set out to come hither, as my daughter Tullia wrote me word. Not only the time is unsuitable; but I do not care to have my troubles, great as they are, made an exhibition to one who is not friendly. I do not however wish you to quarrel with him on my account.

LETTER III.

THOUGH I have really nothing to tell you, yet this is what I wanted besides to know:¹ whether Cæsar was set out;² in what state he left the city, and whom he had appointed over different districts and offices; whether any commissioners had been sent by the decree of the Senate, to treat with Pompeius and the Consuls on the subject of peace. Wishing therefore to know this, I have for that purpose sent this letter; and I shall be obliged to you to inform me about this, and any thing which it may concern me to know. I shall wait in Arcanum till I hear. This is the second letter I have dictated to you this same 7th of April,

¹ This refers to the preceding letter.

² To go to Spain against Pompeius's lieutenants.

having written a longer the day before with my own hand.³ They say that you were seen in the court;⁴ not that I mean to accuse you; for I am myself open to the same accusation.⁵ I am expecting to hear from you, yet do not know very well what I should expect. However, if there is nothing, I shall be glad to hear even that. Cæsar by letter excuses me for not going up, and says that he takes it in good part. I do not regard what he adds, that Tullus and Servius have complained of his not granting the same liberty to them, as to me. The silly men! Who would send their sons to besiege Cn. Pompeius, yet hesitate themselves to go into the Senate. But I send you a copy of Cæsar's letter.⁶

LETTER IV.

I HAVE received several letters from you the same day, all full of information; one particularly, which is equivalent to a volume, de-

³ This longer letter was the first of this book.

⁴ The *regia* was properly the court of the chief priest: but it must here be understood of some place where Cæsar held his court.

⁵ Having met Cæsar at Formiæ.

⁶ This has not come down to us.

serves to be repeatedly read, as I do.¹ I assure you that your pains have not been thrown away, and that I am extremely obliged to you. And as long as you can, that is, as long as you know where to find me, I earnestly beg that you will continue to write very frequently. But let us at length make an end, if possible, or some moderation, which is certainly possible, of the wailing which I daily utter. For I now no longer think of the dignity, the honors, the state of life, which I have lost; but what I have enjoyed, what I have done, in what reputation I have lived; and, even in these calamities, what difference exists between me, and those, on whose account I have lost every thing. These are they, who, unless they had driven me from the country, thought they could not obtain the indulgence of their wishes; of whose association and wicked combination you see the issue. The one² burns with fury and wickedness, and, instead of relaxing, is daily growing more violent; first he drove him³ from Italy; now he endeavours to persecute him in another⁴ quarter, to plunder him in another⁵ province: nor does he any longer refuse, but in some measure demands, that, as he is, so also

¹ This little irregularity of construction is not to be condemned in a familiar letter, and seemed to be equally admissible in English, as in Latin.

² Cæsar. ³ Pompeius. ⁴ Greece. ⁵ Spain.

he may be called, a tyrant. The other; he, who formerly would not so much as raise me up when I was prostrate at his feet; who said he could do nothing contrary to Cæsar's will; having escaped from the hands, and sword, of his father-in-law,⁶ is preparing war by sea and land, not indeed without provocation; but however just, or even necessary, yet ruinous to his fellow citizens, unless he conquers; calamitous even, if he does conquer. Great as these generals are, I do not set their actions, nor their fortune, before my own, however flourishing they may seem, however afflicted I. For who can ever be happy, that has either abandoned his country, or enslaved it? And if, as you remind me, I have rightly said in my book,⁷ that nothing is good, but what is honorable; nothing evil, but what is base; then assuredly each of those men is most wretched; both of whom have always preferred their own power, and their private advantage, before their country's prosperity and honor. I am therefore supported by an excellent conscience, when I reflect that I have either rendered the greatest services to my country, when it was in my power; or certainly have never thought of it but with reverence; and that the Republic

⁶ Cæsar.

⁷ Probably alluding to his *Treatise on Government*, but contained also in his *Paradoxes*.

has been overthrown by that very storm, which I foresaw fourteen years ago.⁸ I shall go then with this conscience accompanying me, in great affliction, it is true; yet that, not so much on my own, or on my brother's account, (for our age, whether well or otherwise, is already spent) as on account of the boys, to whom I sometimes think it was due to have transmitted also our free constitution. One of these,⁹ being better disposed, does not so prodigiously torment me: but the other¹⁰—O sad affair! In my whole life nothing ever happened more vexatious.¹¹ Spoilt by my indulgence he has gone such lengths, as I dare not mention: but I am expecting to hear from you; for you said you would write fully when you had seen him. All my kindness towards him has been tempered with much severity; nor is it a single, or small fault, that I have suppressed; but many and great ones. And his father's lenity should rather have called forth his affection, than been so cruelly slighted. The letter he wrote to Cæsar gave me so much

⁸ At the time of his Consulate.

⁹ His own son.

¹⁰ Quintus's son.

¹¹ He appears to have been paying court to Cæsar, at the expense of his father, and uncle. It was the more vexatious to Cicero, because he had been endeavouring to keep well with Cæsar, both for his own sake, and for that of his country.

pain, that I never mentioned it to you ; but we see how it has soured his own behaviour. But of this journey, and affectation of piety, I cannot venture to speak as it deserves. I only know that, after the interview with Hirtius, he was sent for by Cæsar, and talked with him about my mind being entirely alienated from his measures, and my design of leaving Italy : and even this I mention with timidity. No blame however attaches to me : the fear is for his natural disposition. It was this that corrupted Curio, and Hortensius's son ; not any fault of their parents. My brother is dejected with sorrow, and afraid not so much for his own life, as for mine. To him, to him I would have you give consolation, if you can find any. I should wish particularly that his wife may either receive the reports that have been brought to me as false, or suppose them to be less than they are. If they are true, I know not what may be likely to ensue in this condition and flight. If we had yet a free government, I should not be at a loss respecting either the severity, or the indulgence to be used. Either anger, or grief, or fear, has prompted me to write this with more asperity, than accords with either your, or my affection towards him. If what I have heard be true, you will pardon me ; if false, I shall be very glad to have you pluck from me this error. But however this

be, you will impute nothing to the uncle, or to the father. When I had written so far, I received a message from Curio, that he would call upon me; for he had arrived in Cumanum the evening before, that is, the 13th. Therefore, if I collect from his conversation any thing to tell you, I will add it to my letter.

Curio passed by my house, and sent me word that he would come presently. He went to address the people at Puteoli; and having done so, he returned, and was with me a considerable time. O foul affair! You know the man; he concealed nothing. In the first place, nothing is more certain, than that all who had been condemned by the Pompeian law will be restored;¹² accordingly he is to make use of their services in Sicily. He made no doubt of Cæsar's getting possession of Spain: that he would then pursue Pompeius with his army, wherever he might be; and that his death would be the termination of the war. Nothing could be nearer accomplished:¹³ that Cæsar had wished in the transport of his anger to have had the Tribune Metellus¹⁴ put to death; and if this had been executed, a great

¹² See Book ix. Letter xiv.

¹³ This, agreeably to the custom of the Latin language, applies to what follows.

¹⁴ This Metellus had opposed Cæsar in his plunder of the public treasury. See Book vii. Letter xii.

slaughter must have ensued: that many had advised a slaughter; and that he abstained from cruelty, not by inclination, or natural disposition, but because he thought that clemency was popular; and he was much disturbed when he understood that he had given offence to the populace in the affair of the treasury. In consequence of which, though he had determined to harangue the people before he left the city, he did not venture to do so, and set out with his mind greatly agitated. Upon my asking him what he foresaw? What conduct?¹⁵ What Republic? He plainly acknowledged that there was no hope remaining. He¹⁶ was afraid of Pompeius's fleet; and said that if it should be collected, he should quit Sicily. What, said I, are those six fasces of yours? If they are granted by the Senate, why are they covered with laurel?¹⁷ If by Cæsar, why are there six?¹⁸ "I wished," says he, "to get them by a surreptitious decree of the Senate; for it could not be done otherwise; but now he is become much more

¹⁵ The word *exemplum* in this place seems to mean "what character Cæsar would exhibit,"

¹⁶ Curio. See Letter VII.

¹⁷ The laurels were attached by the soldiers in consequence of some signal victory gained over an enemy.

¹⁸ The Consuls and Proconsuls had twelve lictors given them by the Senate; the Proprætors had only six.

“hostile to the Senate, and says, *From me every thing shall proceed.* They are six, “because I did not choose to have twelve, as “I might.” I then said, how much I wished that I had asked Cæsar for what I understand Philippus has obtained ;¹⁹ but I was ashamed, because he had not obtained any thing²⁰ from me. “He would willingly have granted it to “you,” says he ; “but suppose yourself to have “obtained it ; for I will inform him, as you “yourself shall please, of our having talked “together about it : but what does it signify “to him where you are, since you refuse to “come into the Senate ? Yet now you would “have given him no offence on that account, “if you had not been in Italy.” To which I replied, that I sought for retirement and solitude, especially on account of my lictors. He applauded my conduct. Well then, said I, my way to Greece lies through your province ; since the coast of the Adriatic is occupied by soldiers. “What,” said he, “could be more desirable for me ?” And he added a great deal with much liberality. So that this is now settled, that I can sail not only safely, but openly. The rest he postponed to the next day, in which if there should be any thing worth relating, I will let you know it. There

¹⁹ License to live where he pleased.

²⁰ Cæsar had not been able to prevail with Cicero in wishing him to go to Rome. See Book ix. Letter xviii.

are some things however, which I omitted to ask ; as, whether Cæsar would wait for an interregnum? or—how can I pronounce it?²¹ He said that the Consulate had been offered to himself, but that he had declined it for the next year. There are other circumstances, also about which I shall inquire. In conclusion, he swears, what he would easily accomplish, that Cæsar ought to be most friendly towards me. “For what, I say,²² has Dolabella written to me?” I asked, what? He²³ asserted, that when he had written to desire that I would go to Rome, Cæsar expressed the greatest thankfulness, and not only approved, but was even glad that I had acted as I did. What think you? I have resumed my composure. For that suspicion of domestic calamity, and of the conversation with Hirtius, has been greatly relieved. How I wish him to prove worthy of us! And how I invite myself to find some excuse²⁴ for him! But it is necessary to have some communication with Hirtius. There must be something; but I should be glad if it might turn out to be inconsiderable. And yet I wonder he should not

²¹ Or act from his own authority, as if he were a King.

²² I understand these to be the words of Curio, so that *inquam* means *Curio said*.

²³ Dolabella.

²⁴ This I conceive to be the meaning of the original, which has been variously interpreted; and, as is too frequent in obscure texts, unwarrantably altered.

have come back. But we shall see how it is. You will let the Oppii give credit to Terentia,²⁵ This is now the only thing to be apprehended in the city.²⁶ Assist me, however, with your advice, whether I should go by land to Rhegium, or should embark from hence. But since I do not go immediately, I shall have something to write to you, as soon as I have seen Curio. Pray take care, as usual, to let me know how Tiro goes on.²⁷

LETTER V.

OF my general intention I conceive I have already written to you explicitly enough; respecting the day, nothing can be said with certainty, but that it will not be before the new moon. Curio's discourse the next day came to the same amount, unless that he still more openly gave me to understand that he saw no end to this state of things. The charge you impose upon me of regulating the young Quin-

²⁵ See my note on Book VIII. Letter VII.

²⁶ The want of money is the only thing to be apprehended for Terentia; the number of other females of distinction doing away any impropriety in her remaining there. See Book VII. Letter XIV.

²⁷ It will be remembered that Tiro was left ill at Patre.

tus, is an Arcadian undertaking.¹ However, I will leave nothing untried; and I wish you would do so too: but I shall not spare him. I wrote immediately to Vestorius about Tullia:² and indeed she pressed me earnestly. Vectenus has spoken to you more reasonably, than he wrote to me; but I cannot sufficiently express my surprise at the carelessness of the inscription.³ For upon hearing from Philotimus that I might purchase that cottage from Canuleius for 50 Sestertia (£400.), and might have it for less, if I applied to Vectenus; I did apply to him to get some abatement, if he could, from that sum. He engaged to do so; and sent me word a little while ago, that he had bought it for 30 Sestertia (£240.), and

¹ In the original is the word *Arcadia*; which is probably taken from an oracle reported in the first book of Herodotus's History, discountenancing, as a work of great difficulty, a meditated attack of Arcadia by the Lacedaemonians. See Letter XII.

² It is uncertain to what this alludes: but seems, by what follows (Letter XIII.) most probably to relate to an advance of money.

³ This may probably allude to Vectenus having called Cicero by the title of "Proconsul" (See Letter XI.), in consequence of which Cicero in return called him *monetalis*, or "money-stamper." Cicero seems to have been displeased with the abrupt manner in which Vectenus had concluded the purchase, and fixed the day of payment, without consulting him.

desired I would let him know to whom I would have it assigned; that the money was to be paid the 13th of November. I wrote to him rather angrily, yet with a familiar joke. But now, as he acts with liberality, I do not mean to find fault with him, and have written to tell him that I had been set right by you. I shall be glad to hear what you intend about your journey, and when. April 17.

LETTER VI.

NOTHING now stops me but the season. I shall use no cunning in my proceedings,¹ happen what may in Spain. Nevertheless keep my counsel. I have explained to you all my intentions in a former letter; for which reason this will be short; besides, I am in a hurry, and busy. Respecting young Quintus, "I take all pains"²—you know the rest. The advice you give me is both friendly and prudent; but every thing will be easy, if I can only guard against him.³ It is an arduous task. There are many excellent⁴ points about him; but

¹ Shall not wait to see how things turn out in Spain.

² This alludes to a passage in Terence, where an old man exposes the pains he has taken to educate his son.

³ Young Quintus.

⁴ See Letter x. and xii.

nothing plain, nothing candid. I wish you had undertaken to manage the young man; for his father by his over-indulgence undoes whatever I do. If I could act without the father's interference, I could manage him. This you can do.⁵ But I forgive him. It is, I say, an arduous task. I have been confidently told that Pompeius is going through Illyrium to Gaul.⁶ I must now consider how, and which way I shall proceed.

LETTER VII.

I QUITE approve your going to Apulia and Sipontum, and that appearance¹ of unsettledness; and do not consider you to be under the same circumstances, as myself. Not but we have both the same duty to perform in the Republic; but that is out of the question. The struggle is, who shall be king; in which the more moderate king has been driven out, he who is the better and honester of the two, who must conquer, or the very name of the Roman

⁵ Cicero was living with his brother Quintus, whereas Atticus was beyond the reach of his influence.

⁶ I suppose on his way to Spain: but it was not true.

¹ Atticus, not willing to offend Cæsar by abruptly quitting Italy, seems to have intended to pass some time irregularly in the south-eastern parts previously to his departure.

people will be extinguished : yet if he conquers, he will conquer after the manner and example of Sulla. In this struggle therefore it is not for you openly to espouse either party, but to bend to the times. But my case is a different one, being under such obligations, that I cannot bear to appear ungrateful. I do not however think of going into the field ; but of retiring to Malta, or some other place of equal insignificance. You will say, “ By this you “ do not help him, towards whom you wish to “ shew your gratitude : nay, perhaps he would “ rather have wished you did not go.” But about this we shall see afterwards. Let me but get out : which Dolabella and Curio enable me to do at a better season, the one by the Adriatic sea, the other by the straits of Sicily.² I have had some hopes that Sergius Sulpicius might wish to converse with me ;³ and I sent my freedman Philotimus to him with a letter. If he will act a manly part, it may prove a valuable meeting ; if otherwise, I shall still maintain the same character as I used to do. Curio has been staying with me, thinking that Cæsar is dejected by the popular displeasure,

² Dolabella and Curio were Cicero's friends, and held commands in those parts respectively.

³ Sergius Sulpicius was a Senator of great respect, a friend of Cicero's, and a favorer of peace ; but of a timid character.

and himself diffident about Sicily, if Pompeius should have set sail. I have given the young Quintus a rough reception. I find it was avarice, and the hope of a handsome present. This is bad enough ; but I trust there is nothing of that baseness which I had apprehended.⁴ This fault I imagine you will attribute not to my indulgence, but to his natural disposition, while I endeavour by discipline to regulate him. You will arrange with Philotimus what you think best about the Oppii of Velia.⁵ I shall consider Epirus as my own ;⁶ but I think of taking a different course.

LETTER VIII.

THE state of things admonishes, and you have pointed out, and I see myself, that it is time to put an end to our writing upon such subjects, as it might be hazardous to have intercepted. But as my daughter Tullia frequently writes to me, begging me to wait the event of what is doing in Spain, and constantly adds that you are of the same opinion, which indeed

⁴ See Letter iv.

⁵ See Book viii. Letter vii. and Book vii. Letter xiii.

⁶ This must be supposed to be in answer to some letter from Atticus, offering Cicero the free use of his place in Epirus.

I perceive by your letters ; I have thought it not unsuitable to let you know my sentiments upon that subject. I think the advice would be prudent, if I meant to shape my conduct by the fate of Spain, which you say I ought to do. For it must necessarily happen, either that Cæsar is driven out of Spain, which I should exceedingly desire ; or that the war is protracted ; or that he, as he seems confidently to expect, seizes upon Spain. If he is driven out ; with what grace, or honor, shall I then go to Pompeius, when I imagine Curio himself¹ will go over to him ? If the war is protracted ; for what am I to wait ; or how long ? It remains, that if we are beaten in Spain, I should be quiet. But upon this point I think otherwise. For I would sooner desert him² a conqueror, than conquered and doubtful (instead of confident) of his affairs. In as much as I foresee executions, if he is victorious, and violation of private property, and the recall of exiles, and cancelling of debts, and honors bestowed upon the basest men, and a kingdom such as not only no Roman, but not even any Persian can bear. Is it possible for my indignation to be silent ? Can my eyes sustain the sight of my delivering my opinion³ in the company of Gabinius ? And even of his being

¹ Who is of Cæsar's party.

² Cæsar.

³ In the Senate.

called upon to speak first? In the presence of your client Clælius? In that of C. Ateius's client Plaguleius? And the rest? But why do I enumerate my enemies? While I cannot without pain see in the Senate my own connexions,⁴ whom I have myself defended; nor act amongst them without shame. What if it is by no means certain that I should be allowed to do so? For his friends write me word that he is far from being satisfied with me, because I have not gone into the Senate. However, I cannot entertain a thought of recommending myself to him, and that, with some risk, with whom I refused to be united even with recompense. Then consider this; that the whole contest is not to be decided in Spain; unless you suppose that, upon losing this, Pompeius will throw up his arms; notwithstanding his whole plan is Themistoclean.⁵ For he deems him, who is in possession of the sea, to be master of affairs. Hence, without ever striving to keep Spain by itself, he has always made naval preparations his principal care. He will accordingly sail, when the season is fit, with a prodigious fleet, and will come to Italy; where what shall I be, sitting idle? For it will no longer be allowable to be neuter.

⁴ Recalled from banishment by Cæsar's authority.

⁵ Who retired before the Persians from Athens, to conquer them at sea.

Shall I then oppose his fleet? What evil can be greater; or even so great? What indeed can be baser? Have I feebly⁶ and alone born his wickedness against the absent; and shall I not bear it in company with Pompeius and the other chiefs? But if, setting aside duty, we consider only the danger; there is danger from those,⁷ if I do wrong; from him,⁸ if I do right: nor can any plan be devised in these troubles, which is free from danger. There can therefore be no doubt but I should avoid doing any thing base with danger; which I would avoid even with safety. Should I not have crossed the sea along with Pompeius? It was not in my power: there is the account of the days. Besides (to confess the truth, without that concealment which I might use) one thing deceived me, which perhaps ought not, but it did deceive me; for I thought there would be peace; and if this had taken place, I did not care to have Cæsar angry with me, at the time that he would be reconciled to Pompeius. For I had already felt the effects⁹ of their union. It was through fear of this that I fell into this dilatoriness. But I shall

⁶ The text is probably corrupt. I offer this interpretation as what appears the least exceptionable.

⁷ Pompeius's party.

⁸ Cæsar.

⁹ When Pompeius assisted Clodius's views by reason of his own connexion with Cæsar.

obtain every purpose, if I make¹⁰ haste: if I delay, I shall lose it. And yet, my Atticus, certain auguries inspire me with confident hope; not the auguries of our College¹¹ collected by Appius; but those of Plato on the subject of tyrants. For I do not see by what means he can long remain without falling of himself, even without any exertion on our part: since fresh and flourishing, in the space of six or seven days, he became the object of the bitterest hatred to that same indigent and abandoned multitude; having so soon lost the pretension of two things; of clemency, in the case of Metellus;¹² of wealth, in the affair of the treasury.¹³ Now, what companions, or ministers, can he employ; if the provinces, if the Republic is to be governed by persons, no one of whom has been able to regulate his own patrimony for two months? There is no enumerating all the particulars, which you will readily comprehend: only place them in your view, and you will presently understand that such a kingdom can hardly last six months. If I am mistaken in this, I shall bear it, as many excellent men, distinguished in the Republic, have born it: unless you imagine

¹⁰ To quit Italy.

¹¹ The College of Augurs.

¹² Whom he had wished to kill.

¹³ The plunder of which shewed that he was in want of money.

that I would rather die like Sardanapalus in his bed,¹⁴ than in a Themistoclean exile: who, being, as Thucydides says, “the ablest to apprehend things present, after the shortest consultation; and far the best to conjecture of things to come, what was likely to take place;” yet fell into those straits, which he would have avoided, if nothing had deceived him. Though he was one, who, in the words of the same author, “eminently foresaw advantages and disadvantages, while they were yet in obscurity;” yet he did not see either how to escape the envy of the Lacedemonians, or that of his own fellow-citizens, nor what he was promising to Artaxerxes. That night would not have been so calamitous to the prudent Africanus; nor that day of Sulla’s superiority so sad to the shrewd C. Marius; if nothing had deceived them. Nevertheless I support my opinion by the augury I have mentioned. This does not deceive me; nor will it turn out otherwise. He must fall either by his enemies, or by himself, who indeed is his own worst enemy. I hope this may happen during my life; though it is time for me to think of that eternal, not of this short life. But should any thing happen to me sooner than I expect, it signifies little whether I

¹⁴ Sardanapalus was an Assyrian king distinguished for his effeminacy.

see it done, or foresee that it will be done. This being so, it is not to be born, that I should submit to those, against whom the Senate armed me, at the time it entrusted me with the charge¹⁵ of the public safety. To you I commend all my concerns; though such is your affection towards me, that they need not my commendation. In fact I have nothing to tell you: for I sit here only waiting for an opportunity to sail. Yet nothing ever so demanded to be told, as that of all your multiplied kindnesses none was at any time more acceptable to me, than the sweet and assiduous attention you have bestowed on my dear Tullia. She is herself highly gratified by it; and I no less so. Her excellence is indeed wonderful. How does she bear the public misfortunes! How her own domestic embarrassments! And what a courage does she shew at my departure! Call it natural affection; or the completest union of minds; yet she would have me do what is right, and be well esteemed. But of this too much, lest I call forth my own sensibility. If you hear any thing certain about Spain, or any thing else, in my absence, you will write to me. And at my departure, I shall perhaps send again to you; and the rather, because Tullia seemed to think you would not at present leave Italy. I must

¹⁵ In his Consulship.

manage to get Antonius's consent, as well as Curio's, to my residing at Malta, without taking a part in this war. I wish I may find him as accommodating and kind to me, as Curio. He¹⁶ is said to be coming to Misenum the 2d of May, that is to day ; but he has sent before an ungracious letter, of which I enclose a copy.

*Antonius, Tribune of the People, Proprætor,
to Cicero, Imperator.*

UNLESS I had a great regard for you, indeed much greater than you imagine, I should not have minded the report which is spread about you, especially as I do not believe it ; yet loving you as I do, I cannot dissemble that the very rumour, however unfounded, greatly affects me. I cannot think that you will cross the sea, considering your affection for Dolabella and your daughter, that accomplished woman, and the esteem in which you are held by all of us,¹ to whom indeed your dignity and splendor is almost dearer than to yourself. But I have not thought it the part of a friend, to be indifferent to what is said even by ill disposed persons : and I consider the task imposed upon me to be the more difficult, owing to the offence

¹⁶ Antonius.

¹ Us of Cæsar's party.

which has arisen between us,² rather from my jealousy, than from any injury on your part. For I would have you believe that, excepting my Cæsar, nobody is dearer to me, than you; and that at the same time I am persuaded Cæsar esteems M. Cicero among his best friends. Therefore I beg you, my Cicero, to take no hasty step; but to distrust the attachment of one,³ who first injured you, that he might afterwards confer a kindness: and, on the other hand, not to run away from one,⁴ who, though he should not love you (which however cannot be the case) yet would wish you to be in safety and in honor. I have expressly sent to you my intimate friend Calpurnius, that you may be assured of the great interest I take in your life and dignity.

The same day Philotimus brought the following letter from Cæsar.

Cæsar, Imperator, to Cicero, Imperator.

THOUGH I was persuaded that you would do nothing rashly, or imprudently, yet I have been moved by common report to write to you, and to request, by the intimacy between us, that you would not in this declining state

² Antonius had been a candidate for the Augurship in opposition to Cicero.

³ Pompeius. ⁴ Cæsar.

of affairs take any step, which you did not think it necessary to take before. For you will both inflict a severer blow on our friendship, and less well consult your own advantage, if you appear to be influenced not by the course of events (for every thing seems to have fallen out most favorable to us, most adverse to them), nor by attachment to the cause (for that was the same when you judged it proper to abstain from their counsels), but by condemnation of some act of mine; than which you can do nothing more painful to me. That you may not do it, I beg of you by the right of our friendship. Besides, what can be more proper for a good and peaceable man, and a good citizen, than to abstain from civil broils? This some, who would wish it, cannot do because of the danger: you, to whom the testimony of my life, and the assurance of my friendship is well known, will never find any thing either more secure, or more honorable, than to abstain from all hostility. April 16. On my journey.

LETTER IX.

THE arrival of Philotimus (what a fellow he is! how silly! how often misrepresenting in favor of Pompeius!) has frightened to death all my

companions. As for myself, I am become callous. None of our people entertained a doubt of "Cæsar's having checked his progress;" whereas he is said to advance with the utmost speed: and that "Petreius had joined Afranius;" though he brings no intelligence of the kind. In short, it was even believed that Pompeius was passing with a great force through Illyrium into Germany; for this was confidently asserted. I am of opinion therefore that I ought to get away to Malta, till we see what is done in Spain. From Cæsar's letter it appears as if I might almost do this with his consent; for he says that I can do nothing more honorable, or more safe, than to withdraw from all contention. You will say then, "where is that resolution, which you professed in your last letter." It is here, and it is unaltered. But I wish it were possible to determine only at my own risk. The tears of my family sometimes soften me, when they intreat me to await the issue of the war in Spain. The boys could not without great emotion read a letter from M. Cælius written in a lamentable strain, and entreating me to wait for the same event, and not to betray so rashly my only daughter, and all my family. My own son indeed is of greater spirit, and for that very reason affects me the more, and seems to be anxious only about my reputation.

To Malta therefore: thence whither it shall seem prudent. Do you however even now let me hear from you, especially if there is any news of Afranius. If I have any conversation with Antonius, I will let you know what has been done. But, as you advise, I shall be cautious in trusting him. For¹ the means of concealing my design are both difficult and dangerous. I expect Servius on the seventh of May, for whom I shall wait, at the desire of Postumia² and the young Servius. I rejoice to hear that your ague is better. I send you a copy of Cælius's letter.

Cælius to Cicero.

I AM distressed by your letter, in which you shew that your thoughts are engaged about nothing but what is sad. What this is, you do not expressly say; nevertheless you sufficiently declare the nature of what you contemplate. I therefore write this letter to you without loss of time, to beg and beseech you, Cicero, by your fortunes, by your children, not to adopt any measure prejudicial to your happiness and security. For I call the Gods, and men, and our friendship, to witness, that

¹ This relates to the expediency of obtaining Antonius's consent to Cicero's departure, since it was both difficult and dangerous to attempt it by stealth.

² Postumia was the wife of Servius Sulpicius, the person here intended.

I have told you beforehand ; and have given you this counsel not hastily ; but have informed you after being with Cæsar, and knowing what his disposition would be, should he gain the victory ; if you imagine that Cæsar will continue to observe the same moderation in liberating his adversaries, and submitting to their conditions, you are mistaken. His thoughts, and indeed his declarations, breathe nothing but what is severe and cruel. He went away much out of humour with the Senate, and thoroughly provoked by the opposition to his wishes.¹ There will assuredly be no room for mercy. Therefore if you have any regard for yourself, for your only son, for your family, for your remaining hopes ; if I, if that excellent man, your son-in-law,² have any weight with you, you ought not wilfully to disturb their fortune ; so that we should be obliged to hate, or relinquish, that cause, in the success of which our happiness consists ; or else entertain the impious wish of injuring you. Lastly, think what offence you must already have given³ by your delay. But now, to oppose Cæsar in the time of victory, whom you were

¹ The motions in the Senate for permitting Cæsar to take the money out of the treasury were stopped by the intercession of the Tribune L. Metellus. Cæsar however got possession of it by force. See Letter iv.

² Dolabella.

³ To Pompeius.

unwilling to offend while his cause was doubtful ; and to join those in their flight, whom you refused to follow as long as they resisted ; is the height of folly. Take care, that while you are ashamed to be wanting in the duties of the best citizen, you are not too negligent in choosing what is the best course. But if I cannot entirely prevail with you, at least wait till it is known how we go on in Spain ; which, I announce to you, will be ours upon the arrival of Cæsar. What hope they may have after Spain is lost, I know not. And what can be your object in uniting with a desperate cause, I cannot for my life discover. This, which without saying it you gave me to understand, Cæsar had heard : and as soon as he had asked me how I did, he mentioned what he had heard about you. I professed my ignorance ; but begged him to write to you in such a manner as might be most likely to induce you to stay. He takes me with him to Spain. If this were not so, before I went to the city, wherever you were, I would have run down to you, and argued the point with you in person, and used my utmost endeavour to keep you. Consider, Cicero, again and again, that you may not utterly ruin yourself and all your family ; nor plunge yourself, with your eyes open, into a situation, from whence you see no retreat. But if the language of the best citizens affects you ; or if you cannot

bear the insolence and haughtiness of certain persons; you may choose, I think, some town free from war, while these matters are deciding, which will presently be concluded. If you do this, I shall think you have acted wisely, and you will give no offence to Cæsar.

LETTER X.

BLIND that I am, not to have foreseen this! I sent you Antonius's letter. Having repeatedly written to him, that I entertained no designs against Cæsar's measures; that I was mindful of my son-in-law, mindful of our friendship; that if I thought otherwise, I might have been with Pompeius; but that I wished to be out of the way, because I did not like to be running about with my lictors; that this measure however was not even now determined: to these observations see how superciliously he replies—

“How true are your professions! For one
“who wishes to be neuter, remains in his
“country: he who goes away, appears to pass
“judgment upon one of the parties. But I
“am not the person to determine whether any
“body is at liberty to go away, or not. Cæsar
“has laid this duty upon me, that I should
“suffer nobody at all to leave Italy. My ap-
“proving your intention is therefore of little

“ consequence, as I have no authority to re-
“ mit any thing. I think you should apply
“ to Cæsar, and ask leave from him. I do
“ not doubt but you will obtain it, especially
“ as you promise to observe the relations of
“ our friendship.”

Here is a Spartan dispatch¹ for you! I shall by all means deceive the man. He was to come on the evening of the third, that is, to day. Therefore to-morrow he may perhaps call upon me. I shall endeavour to appear in no hurry.² I shall give out that I mean to apply to Cæsar: I shall conceal myself somewhere with very few attendants: and shall certainly³ fly away from hence in spite of these people. I wish it may be to Curio;⁴ this I say to you, God willing. I have received a great additional uneasiness. Something worthy of me⁵ shall be

¹ The original is expressed in two Greek words, signifying a particular kind of cipher used by the Government of Sparta, to which their generals were expected to pay implicit obedience.

² The text is evidently corrupt; but I read it with the least alteration—“*Tentabo autem nihil properare.*”

³ I read *certè*, with some ancient editors.

⁴ “I should be glad to get to Sicily under the command of Curio;” who, though of Cæsar’s party, was personally attached to Cicero. From thence Cicero would proceed to Malta.

⁵ This is said perhaps from a feeling of some dissatisfaction at the part he had hitherto acted.

accomplished. I am exceedingly sorry for your dysury. Attend to it, I beseech you, while it is yet recent. I was pleased with your account of the people at Marseilles!⁶ I beg to be informed of every thing you may hear. I should like Sicily, if I might go openly; which I had obtained from Curio. I wait here for Servius, as I am requested by his wife and son, and as I think it expedient. This fellow takes Cytheris⁷ with him in an open carriage; a second conveys his wife; and there are besides seven others together of his girls think you, or boys? See by how vile a death we perish; and doubt, if you can, of the havoc he⁸ will make, whether he come back conquered, or conqueror. But I, if there should be no ship, will go even in a cock boat, to snatch myself from the violence of these people. I will write more after I have seen him. I cannot help loving our young nephew, though I plainly see that I am not loved by him. I never saw any thing so intractable, so set against his family, so absorbed in his own conceit. What an incredible weight of troubles! I will, however, and do, take pains to correct him. For he has excellent abilities,⁹ but requires great attention to his temper.

⁶ They shut their gates against Cæsar.

⁷ Cytheris was Antonius's mistress.

⁸ Cæsar.

⁹ See Letter XII.

LETTER XI.

AFTER sealing my last letter, I did not choose to deliver it to the person I had intended, because he was not one of my own servants. For this reason it was not delivered that day. In the mean time Philotimus arrived, and brought me yours; in which what you say about my brother certainly shews a want of steadiness; but has nothing insincere, nothing fraudulent, nothing that may not be turned to good, nothing that you may not by a single word lead whither you will. In short, he is affectionate towards all his friends, even those with whom he often quarrels; and me he loves better than himself. I do not blame him for sending a different¹ account to you about your nephew, and to the mother about her son. What you mention about the journey, and about your sister, is vexatious, and the more so, because my time is so contracted, that it is not in my power to remedy it; for remedy it I certainly would. But you see in what troubles and difficulties I am. The money concerns are not such (for I often hear from him) that

¹ I understand this to mean different from that which Cicero had given in the preceding letters. Some suppose that he means Quintus had given one account to Atticus, another to Pomponia.

he does not wish to pay you, and is earnest to do so. But if Q. Axius, in this my flight, does not repay me thirteen Sestertia (£100.) which I lent to his son, but excuses himself on account of the times; if Lepta, if others do the same; I cannot forbear wondering, when I hear from him that he is pressed for some 20 Sestertia (£160). For you see the difficulties. He has ordered however that the money may be provided for you. Do you think him slow, or backward, in such affairs? Nobody is less so. But enough about my brother. Respecting his son, it is true that his father always indulged him: but indulgence does not make one deceitful, or covetous, or without natural affection; though it may perhaps create haughtiness, and arrogance, and moroseness. Accordingly he has these faults also, which arise from indulgence; but they are supportable; for why should I add, at his time of life? But the former; which to me, who love him, are more grievous, than these very calamities, in which I am placed; are not the effects of our tenderness; no, they have roots of their own; which however I would pluck out, if it were possible. But the times are such, that I must put up with every thing. My own son I easily restrain; for nothing is more tractable; and it is in compassion to him that I have hitherto adopted less vigorous counsels; and the more he wishes me to exert myself, the more I am

afraid of injuring him. Antonius arrived yesterday evening. He may perhaps soon call upon me; or he may not even do that; as he wrote to explain his wishes. But you shall know immediately what is done. I must now conduct every thing secretly. What shall I do about the boys? Shall I trust them to a small row boat? What inclination do you imagine I shall have for sailing? For I remember, even in summer time, how uneasy I was sailing with that open vessel of the Rhodians:² what do you suppose then to be the case in this severe season with a little barge? It is every way a sad state. Trebatius is with me, a thoroughly honest man, and good citizen. What monstrous things does he relate! Immortal Gods! Does Balbus also think of coming into the Senate? But I shall to-morrow get him to carry a letter to you himself. I am ready to believe Vec-tenus is kindly disposed towards me, as you say. I had joked with him a little angrily for having written to me so peremptorily about providing the money.³ If he received this otherwise than he ought, you will soften it. I addressed him Coiner, because he had addressed me Proconsul. But since he is an honest man, and friendly towards me, I am ready also to be friendly towards him.

² Book vi. Letter viii.³ Letter v.

LETTER XII.

WHAT will become of me? Or who is there not only more unfortunate, but more disgraced, than I am? Antonius says that he has received orders¹ about me by name. He has not however yet seen me, but mentioned this to Trebatius. What can I do now? Nothing prospers with me; and what has been considered with the greatest care, turns out the most unhappily. For when I had gained Curio, I thought I had obtained every thing. He had written to Hortensius² about me; and Reginus was entirely with me. I never suspected that Antonius would have any thing to do with this sea.³ Which way shall I now turn myself? I am beset on all sides. But enough of lamentation. I must sail then unseasonably, and creep unobserved into some merchant ship. I must not let it seem as if I were stopt with my own concurrence.⁴ I must endeavour to get to Sicily; which if I accomplish, I shall pursue something further. Let

¹ To prevent Cicero from leaving Italy.

² Hortensius had a command on the South coast.

³ The southern, or Tyrrhenian sea.

⁴ It must not have the appearance of a plan concerted between him and Cæsar for the purpose of his remaining in Italy.

but things go on well in Spain. Though about Sicily itself I wish the news may be true; but hitherto nothing has happened favorably. It is reported that a concourse of Sicilians assembled round Cato, entreating him to resist, and promising every thing; and that he was moved by it, and began to levy troops. I do not believe it, so illustrious is its author.⁵ That the province might be kept I know. But we shall soon have news from Spain. We have here C. Marcellus intent upon the same purpose,⁶ or excellently feigning it: though I have not seen him myself, but hear it from one who is intimate with him. Pray let me hear if you have any thing new. If I make any attempt, I will immediately write to you. I shall deal severely with young Quintus: I wish I may be able to do any good. But do you tear the letters in which I have said any thing harshly of him, for fear of some disclosure: I will do the same with yours. I am waiting for Servius, yet do not expect from him any sound advice. You shall know whatever is the result. It must doubtless be confessed that I have committed errors. But is it once only? and on one occasion? Nay, every thing, the more it has been considered, the more imprudently has it been done. But, as Homer says, "what is past, we must let be, however sorry:" In

⁵ Said ironically.

⁶ Of quitting Italy.

what remains, let us only not rush on our ruin. You bid me be circumspect in my departure. In what respect should I be circumspect? All the accidents that can occur are so manifest, that if I would avoid them, I must sit down in shame and grief; if I should neglect them, I am in danger of falling into the hands of abandoned men. But see in what great difficulties I am. I sometimes think it would be desirable to sustain even some severe injury from these people, that it may appear how hateful I am to the tyrant. If the course, I had hoped, were open to me, I would have accomplished something, as you wish and exhort, that should justify my delay. But the guard that is kept, is surprising; and I have some suspicions even of Curio himself. I must act therefore either by force, or by stealth: and if by force, I shall perhaps have to contend also with the season. But by stealth, is by stealth from these people; in which if there should be any failure, you see what disgrace impends. But I am drawn on, and must not recede through fear of some outrage. I often think with myself about Cælius;⁷ and, should

⁷ The Cælius here spoken of, has been supposed to be one C. Cælius Caldus, who endeavoured, but in vain, to check the progress of Sylla in the former civil wars; but I do not find that this conjecture rests on any certain foundation. See Letter xiv.

I have any similar opportunity, I shall not let it slip. I hope that Spain is steady. The affair of Marseilles, as it is noble in itself, so is it an argument with me that all is right in Spain; for they would not shew such resolution, if it were otherwise; and they would know the truth, being so near, and vigilant. You rightly take notice of the disapprobation expressed in the theatre. I perceive also that the legions, which he took up in Italy, are very much dissatisfied. But yet nothing is more hostile, than he is to himself. You justly fear his breaking out into violence. If he is driven to despair, he will certainly do so. This increases the propriety of effecting something in the same spirit as Cælius, but I should hope with better success. But every thing in its turn: whatever is done first, you shall immediately know it. I will, as you desire, do what I can for the young man,⁸ and will support the weight of the whole Peloponnesus:⁹ for he has good parts, if there were but any disposition susceptible of instruction. Hitherto he shews none; yet there may be; or virtue is not to be taught; which I can never believe.

⁸ Young Quintus.

⁹ This probably alludes to the same thing, as when, in Letter v. he mentions Arcadia, which was a part of the Peloponnesus; meaning that no difficulty should deter him.

LETTER XIII.

YOUR letter was particularly acceptable to my dear Tullia, and indeed to me. Your letters always bring something agreeable with them. Write therefore; and if you can offer any ground of hope, do not omit it. You need not be alarmed about Antonius's lions.¹ Nothing is pleasanter than this man. I will give you a trait worthy of a minister of state. He summoned the council of ten² from the free towns; and the four magistrates came to his residence early in the morning. First, he was asleep till nine o'clock: then, upon being told that the Neapolitans and Cumans were arrived (for Cæsar was displeased with these people), he ordered them to come again the next day, as he wanted to bathe, and was taking a lavement. This he did yesterday: and to day he has de-

¹ Antonius is reported, but at a subsequent period, to have yoked lions to his carriage. He may at least have shewn a fondness for them, and carried them about with him at this time. Cicero seems to mean that Antonius himself assumed so little of the character of the lion, that he condescended to amuse himself with low humour, beneath the dignity of his situation.

² The municipia, or towns admitted to the freedom of Roman citizens, were usually governed by a Council of ten, and had besides four executive magistrates.

terminated to go over to Ænaria.³ He promises to recall those that have been banished.⁴ But omitting these matters, let me say something about myself. I have had a letter from Axius.⁵ I am obliged to you for what you have done about Tiro. I am quite satisfied with Vectenus. I have returned the money⁶ to Vestorius. Servius is said to have slept at Minturnæ the 6th of May: he will therefore reach me early to-morrow, and will furnish me with matter for writing to you; for I now find nothing to say. I am surprised that Antonius should not so much as send a message to me, especially as he has always been very civil. I suppose he does not choose to deny before my face his having received a harsh command concerning me. But I should not ask any favor;⁷ nor, if I obtained it, should I place any reliance upon it. Yet I must devise something. Pray let me know if any thing is done in Spain; for it might be heard by this time; and every body is anxious, as supposing

³ A small island near the coast of Campania, since called Ischia.

⁴ See above, Letter iv.

⁵ See Letter xi.

⁶ The word money is not in the original, but seems to be the most probable completion of the sentence, and at the same time explanatory of what was said Letter v.

⁷ Should not ask leave to depart.

that if things go right, there will be no further trouble. But for my part, I neither think that the preservation of Spain will decide the business, nor its loss render it desperate. I imagine Silius, and Ocella, and the others, are obliged to delay their departure. I perceive too that you are hindered by Curtius:⁸ though I suppose you have⁹ a passport.

LETTER XIV.

O WRETCHED existence! For to remain so long in fear, is a greater evil, than the thing itself, which is feared. Servius, as I before mentioned, having arrived the 7th of May, came to me the next day. Not to detain you unnecessarily, we came to no conclusion. I never

⁸ Perhaps some debtor, from whom Atticus could not recover his money.

⁹ In the original there appears to have been some Greek word, which has undergone such mutilation from copyists and commentators, as to baffle all reasonable interpretation. The 17th letter, which seems to have reference to this, makes it probable that Cicero meant in some manner to signify "a passport," which is there called diploma; whence it may be suspected that the word here might have been διπλωμα.

saw any body more disturbed by apprehension ; nor in truth did he fear any thing, that was not a just cause of fear. That man¹ was angry with him, this² by no means pleased ; and the victory of either party was to be dreaded, owing to the cruel disposition of the one³, the audacity of the other,⁴ and the pecuniary difficulties of both, from which they can never be extricated but through the property of private individuals. This he said with so many tears, that I wondered they had not been dried up by such protracted misery. As for me, even this weakness of the eyes, which prevents my writing with my own hand, is unattended with weeping,⁵ though it is often so troublesome as to keep me awake. Collect therefore what consolation you can, and send it me ; not from books, and philosophy ; for that I have at home ; though somehow the remedy is less powerful than the disease : but do you rather find out what relates to Spain, and to Mar-

¹ Pompeius would be angry with him for having sent his son to join Cæsar's army before Brundisium.

² Cæsar was displeased with his having moved the Senate not to approve of the expedition to Spain against Pompeius's lieutenants ; as Cicero had informed him he should himself do, if he went to Rome. See Book ix. Letter xviii.

³ Pompeius.

⁴ Cæsar.

⁵ As if the very source of his tears was exhausted.

seilles. Servius brings a sufficiently good report on these subjects, and says there is good authority for that of the two legions.⁶ Let me then hear this from you, if you can, and other things of the same kind. Something must necessarily be known in a few days. But I revert to Servius. We adjourned our conversation to the next day. But he is loath to go out of the country. He would sooner bear whatever might happen, in his bed. He has a painful scruple arising from his son's joining the army before Brundisium.⁷ This however he positively asserted; that if the exiles were restored, he would go into banishment himself. To this I replied, that that would certainly take place; and that what was now doing, was not at all better; and I produced many instances. But this, instead of giving him encouragement, increased his fear; so that now it seems necessary rather to keep him in ignorance of my purpose, than to invite him to do the same. Therefore there is not much to be expected from him. I shall think of Cælius, according to your suggestion.

⁶ Letter XII.

⁷ Book IX. Letter XIX.

LETTER XV.

WHILE Servius was with me, Cephalius arrived with your letter on the tenth; which brought us great hope of better things respecting the eight cohorts; for they also, which are in these parts, are said to waver. On the same day Funisulanus brought another letter from you, corroborating the same circumstance. On the subject of his own business I satisfied him amply, giving him to understand all his obligation to you. He has not yet paid me. He owes me a considerable sum, and is not supposed to be rich. He now says that he will pay it; but that one, who is in his books, delays: that, when this is paid, if there should be sufficient at your¹ house, you may send it

¹ Atticus, we have seen, succeeded to the property of Cæcilius, who was a sort of banker; and I imagine the same business to have been continued on Atticus's account. Hence I understand this passage to mean, that if Funisulanus, after the money that was owing to him should have been paid, had enough at Atticus's banking house to answer Cicero's claims, it might be sent down to him. See Book VIII. Letter VII. note 2. This receives considerable weight from what occurs in several letters of the xiith Book, from which it appears that Atticus was a long time engaged with his accounts, so as to shew that they must have been voluminous and intricate.

by the messengers. Philotimus's freedman, Eros, will tell you how much it is. But let us return to greater matters. That Cælian business, which you wish for, ripens apace; and I am distracted with doubt whether I should wait for a favorable wind. There wants but a standard, and people will flock to it.² I am quite of your mind in thinking it best to go openly,³ and I think to set off accordingly: but I shall first wait for another letter from you. Nothing is to be got from Servius's opinion: every objection is raised to every proposal. C. Marcellus is the only man I have known of a more timid disposition; who regretted that he had been made Consul. How dishonorable! He is said too to have confirmed Antonius in his opposition to my departure, that he might himself, I suppose, remain with the better grace. Antonius set out for Capua the tenth. He sent me word that he was prevented from waiting upon me by shame, because he thought I should be angry with him. I shall go then, and in the manner you advise, unless any hope should previously

² This may either mean, that there were many people dissatisfied with Cæsar, and ready to unite under any leader in opposition to him; or, that many people were desirous of leaving Italy, as soon as an opportunity offered.

³ See Letter XII. "I must act therefore either by force, or by stealth."

be afforded of sustaining some more important character.⁴ But this can scarcely happen so soon, Allienus the Prætor however thinks that one of his colleagues will be appointed, if I am not. I care not who it is, so there be but somebody. I am pleased with what you mention about your sister. I take pains about young Quintus; and hope things are better. As for my brother Quintus, I assure you he is making every exertion to pay the interest that is due; but he has hitherto squeezed nothing out of L. Egnatius.⁵ Axius⁶ modestly applies for 12,000 (£100.); for he has frequently written to desire I would advance to Gallius whatever he wants. But if he had not written, could I do otherwise? In truth I have repeatedly promised: but this money he wants immediately. I wish people⁷ would have consideration for me in these troubles. May the Gods confound them! But of this at some other time. I rejoice at your being freed from your ague, and also Pilia. While the stores

⁴ Of being a negotiator for peace.

⁵ See Letter xi.

⁶ Axius is mentioned before, in Letter xi, as owing Cicero 13,000 Sestertii on account of his son, who is probably the same Gallius here spoken of. And now he says, that Axius, instead of repaying the money, borrows 12,000 more, and wants it immediately.

⁷ *Adjuvarent* seems to be used absolutely, in the manner explained in Book iv. Letter iii. n. 10.

and other things are putting on board, I mean to run down to Pompeianum. I should be glad if you would make my acknowledgments to Vectenus for his attention. If you have any body to send, let me hear from you before I go.

LETTER XVI.

I HAD just sent you a letter on a variety of subjects, when Dionysius came to me at an early hour. I should not only have shewn myself ready to forgive him, but should have remitted the whole, if he had come in the temper of mind you described. For in the letter I received from you at Arpinum, you said that he would come, and would do whatever I desired. Now I desired, or rather wished, to have him with me. This he had positively refused, when he came to Formianum; which occasioned me to write to you angrily about him. He said very little; but the amount of his harangue was, that I would forgive him; that he was so embarrassed with his own affairs, that he was unable to go with me. I replied in few words, but felt great vexation. I saw clearly that he despised my present fortune. What think you? Perhaps you will be surprised: but I must tell you that I reckon this

among the greatest vexations of these times. I would have him continue your friend. The wishing you this, is wishing that all may go well with you: for just so long will his attachment last. I trust my design will be unattended with danger: for I shall both dissemble, and mean to keep a sharp look out. Let but the passage be such as I wish; for the rest, which is under the control of prudence, due care shall be taken. While I remain here, I should be glad if you would write me word not merely of what you know, or have heard, but also of what you foresee will happen. Cato, who might have kept Sicily without any difficulty, (and if he had kept it, all respectable people would have flocked to him) went from Syracuse the 24th of April, as Curio wrote me word. I wish, what is said, that Cotta may keep Sardinia. There is such a report. If it be so, poor Cato! In order to lessen any suspicion of my departure, or of my design, I went to Pompeianum the 12th, that I might remain there, while the things requisite for the voyage were got ready. Upon my arrival at the house, information was brought me that the centurions of three cohorts, which are at Pompeii, wished me to go thither the next day; it was my friend Ninnius communicated this to me; that they wished to deliver themselves and the town to me. But I, look you,

was off on the morrow before it was light, that they might not so much as see me. For what was there in three cohorts? What if there had been more? How were they furnished? There occurred to me the same ideas upon that Cælian attempt, which I read in the letter I received from you the same day, as soon as I arrived at Cumanum: and yet it might only have been done to try me. I therefore removed all suspicion. Upon my return I find Hortensius has been here, and called to pay his respects to Terentia. He spake very honorably towards me. But I suppose I shall see him; for he sent his servant to say that he would call upon me. This is better, than my colleague¹ Antonius, whose mistress is carried in a litter in the midst of his lictors.² Since you are free from the ague, and have shaken off not only the disease, but even the languor attending it, let me see you in Greece looking quite well. In the mean time let me hear something from you.

¹ See Letter xv. where Antonius is said to have gone away without seeing Cicero. He was Cicero's colleague in the college of Augurs.

² Letter x.

LETTER XVII.

HORTENSIUS came to me the 14th, after my letter was written. I wish the rest of his conduct may correspond with this. His attention towards me is inconceivable : and of this I mean to avail myself.¹ Afterwards came Serapio² with your letter. But before I opened it, I told him that you had already written to me about him, as you had done. Then, when I had read the letter, I entered upon the rest very fully : and in truth I am much pleased with him ; for he seems to be at once a man of learning and of probity. I think of employing his vessel also, and taking him with me. The weakness of my eyes has frequent returns ; and though not very troublesome, yet it prevents my writing. I am glad your health is now both restored from its old complaint, and strengthened against any fresh attacks. I wish I had Ocella³ here : for these matters seem to be rather more feasible. At

¹ Hortensius had a command under Cæsar ; and Cicero hoped to facilitate his design of sailing by his connivance. See Letter XII.

² Serapio seems to have been recommended to Atticus as a tutor to the two young Ciceros.

³ He is mentioned in Letter XIII. and may probably have been mentioned in some letter from Atticus.

present I am stopped by the equinox, which is very much out of its natural course.⁴ If this blows gently, I hope Hortensius will continue in the same disposition; for hitherto nothing could be more kind. You are surprised at my having spoken of a passport,⁵ as if I were charging you with I know not what offence; and cannot imagine how it should have come into my mind. But as you had mentioned an intention of going away, and I had understood that nobody was permitted to go without one, therefore I concluded you had one; as likewise because you had got a passport for the boys. This was the reason of the opinion I expressed. But I should be glad to know what you think of doing; and above all, if there is yet any news. May 16.

LETTER XVIII.

My dear Tullia was brought to bed the 19th of May of a seven months child. I rejoice in her safe delivery. The child is very weakly. The calms have hitherto delayed me surpris-

⁴ Previously to the reformation of the Calendar, the estimated periods of the year had grown into great disorder; so that the equinoctial winds, which might favor Cicero's voyage, had not yet blown. See Letter xviii.

⁵ See Letter xiii.

ingly, and have been a greater impediment, than the watch which is kept over me. For Hortensius's professions are all idle words: so that he must be a most base man. He has been corrupted by the freedman Salvius. Henceforward therefore I shall not write to inform you what I am going to do, but what I have done. For all the Corycæi¹ seem to listen to what I say. But still if there is any thing from Spain, or any thing else, pray continue to write; and do not expect to hear from me till I arrive at my destination, unless I send to you on my passage. But I write even this with fear: so slowly and difficultly has every thing hitherto been done. As I laid ill the first beginning, so the rest follows. I am now proceeding to Formiæ. The Furies will perhaps pursue me by the same route. From the conversation which Balbus had with you, I do not approve of Malta. Do you then doubt of his reckoning me among the number of the enemies? I have written myself to Balbus, telling him that you had informed me of his good will, and of his suspicion. For the one I have returned my thanks: on the other subject, you must excuse me to him. Did you ever

¹ The banditti of Mount Corycus were noted for their secret intelligence; from whence the term Corycæi was used proverbially to signify any spies or discoverers of secrets. Erasm. Adag.

know any body more unfortunate? I say no more, that I may not also distress you. I am worried to death with thinking that a time is arrived, when neither courage, nor prudence, can any longer avail me.

In the interval between the tenth and eleventh Books of Cicero's Letters, it appears that he actually quitted Italy the 11th of June, and passed over to Dyrrachium, with his brother and the two young Ciceros, to join Pompeius. In the mean time Cæsar had made himself master of Spain; and having been created Dictator at Rome, marched to Brundisium, and thence embarked the 4th of January in pursuit of Pompeius. At first Pompeius obtained some advantage over Cæsar before Dyrrachium, but was soon after totally defeated in the memorable battle of Pharsalia. Cicero was not present on this occasion, but remained at Dyrrachium out of health, and out of spirits. After this defeat, Pompeius's party dispersed. The greater part went to renew the war in Africa, whither Cæsar also followed them. Some retired into Greece; but Cicero returned to Brundisium about the end of October, and from thence wrote the 5th Letter of the following Book.

BOOK XI.

LETTER I.

I HAVE received from you a sealed packet¹ brought by Anteros; but from which I have been able to learn nothing of my domestic affairs, about which I am deeply concerned. For he,² who has had the management of them, is not there; nor do I know where in the world he is. But I place all hope of my reputation and private affairs, in your kindness, which I have so often experienced. This if you will extend to me in these sad and desperate times, I shall bear with a better heart than dangers which are common to me with the rest: and that you will do so, I conjure and entreat you. I have two and twenty

¹ Not a regular letter; which might perhaps be occasioned by the risk attending it. See the conclusion of the following Letter.

² Philotimus.

hundred Sestertia (£17,600.) in Cistophori³ in Asia; by exchanging which money you will easily support my credit. Had I not thought that I left it quite clear, trusting to him⁴ whom you have long since ceased to trust, I would have waited a little longer, and not left my private affairs in embarrassment. The reason of my writing to you so late, is, that I have been late in finding what I had to apprehend. I beg you again and again to take me wholly under your protection; that if those, with whom I am,⁵ are safe, I may escape along with them, and may owe my safety to your kindness.

LETTER II.

I RECEIVED your letter the 4th of February, and the very same day I formally accepted the inheritance¹ according to the Will. Out of

³ See Book II. Letter VI. The Cistophori appear to have been the current coin of Asia minor; and this sum was probably saved during his government of Cilicia.

⁴ Philotimus.

⁵ The Pompeians; whose safety here mentioned relates to their property, not to their persons. This and the three following letters appear to have been written from Dyrrachium.

¹ Accepting it before witnesses within a certain time specified by the Will.

my many sad troubles one is removed, if, as you say, this inheritance is adequate to the support of my credit and reputation; which however, even without this, I understand that you would have defended from your own means. As to what you mention respecting the dower,² by all the Gods I conjure you to take the whole affair under your management, and to protect that poor creature (who is suffering by my fault and negligence) out of my property, if I have any; or by any means you can employ without putting yourself to inconvenience. Do not, I beseech you, suffer her to remain, as you say, destitute of every thing. On what expenses has the produce of the farms been consumed? Nobody ever told me that those sixty Sestertia, (£480.) which you mention, had been deducted from her dower. For I never would have suffered it. But this is the least of the injuries which I have received,³ and which my grief and tears prevent me from detailing to you. Of the money which I had in Asia I have drawn out nearly one half.⁴ I thought it would be safer where it is, than

² The dower of his daughter on her marriage with Dolabella.

³ From his wife Terentia, probably through the agency of Philotimus.

⁴ He placed it in the hands of Egnatius, a banker at Rome. See Letter III.

with the public renters.⁵ When you exhort me to keep up my spirits, I wish you could suggest any thing that might enable me to do so. But if to my other miseries is added that also, which Chrysippus said was in contemplation (you have not mentioned it) respecting my house,⁶ who is there more wretched than myself? I pray and beseech you, pardon me. I cannot write any more. You see how greatly I am afflicted. If this were common to me with the rest, who seem to be in the same case, my fault would not appear so great, and would therefore be the more tolerable. There is now no source of comfort; unless you devise something, if indeed any thing can be devised, that I may not be exposed to any peculiar calamity and insult. I have been later in sending back the courier, because there was no opportunity of sending. I have received from your agents 70 Sestertia (£560.) in money, and the clothing⁷ that was wanted. I should be glad if you would write in my name to whom you think proper: you know my friends. If they expect my seal, or signature; you may tell them that I have

⁵ The farmers of the taxes in Asia, of whom frequent mention is made in the early books of these letters. See Book I. Letter xvii. n. 5.

⁶ It was proposed to take from Cicero his house in Rome, on account of his going over to Pompeius.

⁷ Probably for his slaves.

avoided this, on account of the watch that is kept.⁸

LETTER III.

WHAT is doing here, you will be able to learn from the bearer of this letter, whom I have kept the longer, because I have been in daily expectation of something new. Tho' at present I have no other reason for writing, than that, about which you desired an answer, respecting what I would have done relative to the first of July.¹ Either alternative is attended with difficulty in such difficult times; the risk of so large a sum; or, in this doubtful issue of events, that breaking off,² which you mention. Therefore as other things, so this especially I commit

⁸ Cicero being now with Pompeius's army at Dyrrachium, was under the restriction of military discipline, and, it is probable, might be watch'd with some jealousy.

¹ This was probably the day on which some portion of his daughter's fortune became due to Dolabella. Cicero, as well as Tullia, was dissatisfied with Dolabella, and meditated a divorce. But considering Dolabella's credit with Cæsar, it was difficult to determine, in the present doubtful state of affairs, whether to incur the danger of losing so large a sum, if he paid it; or to cut the matter short by suing for a divorce, and thereby making Dolabella his enemy.

² The expression is probably borrowed from Atticus, and means the separating his daughter from her husband.

to your protection and kindness, and to her judgment and inclination. I should have done better for my poor daughter, if I had formerly deliberated with you in person, rather³ than by letter, on the subject of my own security and circumstances. When you deny that any peculiar disadvantage attaches to me; tho' this affords no consolation; yet there are many peculiar circumstances, which you must see to be, as they are, very grievous, and which I might easily have avoided. But these very things will be less, if they are lighten'd by your care and attention. The money is with Egnatius. Let it remain on my account, as it is, (for things cannot long continue in their present state), that I may be able to see what is most expedient; tho' I am in want of every thing; because he also,⁴ with whom I am, is in difficulties, and I have advanced him a large sum of money, thinking that when matters are settled, this may likewise be an honor to me. I should be glad, if there are any persons to whom you think I ought to write, that you would execute this, as you have done before. Present my compliments to your family; and take care of your health. In the first place make every care and provision for what you mention; that

³ That is, on the propriety of his own going to join Pompeius. See the following letter.

⁴ Pompeius.

⁵ Tullia.

nothing may be wanting to her⁵ for whom you know how uneasy I am. From the Camp, June 13th.

LETTER IV.

I RECEIVED a letter by Isidorus, and two of later dates. From the last I find that the estates have not been sold.¹ You will therefore see that she² may be supported thro' you. With respect to Frusinas, if only I survive, it will be a convenient possession for me. You desire me to write; but I am prevented by want of matter, for I have nothing worth writing; entirely disapproving, as I do, both what happens, and what is doing. I wish I had formerly consulted you in person, rather than by letter. I support your cause here among these people as well as I can. Celer will tell you the rest. I have hitherto declined all office; the more so, because it was impossible to do any thing as became me and my circumstances.³ You ask what new has happened: You will be able to

¹ Estates by which he proposed to relieve Tullia from her embarrassment.

² Tullia.

³ The subsequent part of the letter appears to have been written after that affair of Dyrrachium, in which Cæsar was worsted. The vicinity of the armies made Cicero very cautious and reserved in what he wrote.

learn from Isidorus. What remains does not appear to be more difficult.⁴ I should be glad to have you take care (as you promise, and as you do) of what you know I have especially at heart.⁵ I am worn with anxiety, which has also brought on extreme bodily weakness. As soon as this is removed, I shall join the leader of the business, who is in great hope.⁶ Our friend Brutus⁷ engages zealously in the cause. So far I have been able to write with caution. Farewell. Respecting the second payment,⁸ pray consider with all attention what is to be done; as I observed in the letter, which I sent by Pollex.

LETTER V.

I CANNOT without the greatest pain describe to you what causes, how bitter, how grievous, how unexpected, have moved me, and compelled me to act from a certain impulse of mind, rather than from consideration. They were

⁴ There did not appear any reason why Pompeius should not be equally successful in any subsequent engagement.

⁵ His daughter's comfort.

⁶ Pompeius received great hope from his recent success.

⁷ This is more particularly mentioned, because Brutus was personally hostile to Pompeius, who had caused the death of Brutus's father under Sulla's administration.

⁸ The second instalment of his daughter's dower.

such as have produced the effect you perceive.¹ I therefore neither know what to tell you about my concerns, nor what to ask of you. You see the result and sum of the business. I have understood from your letters, both from that which you wrote in conjunction with others, and from that which was in your own name, (what indeed I perceived by myself) that your declining influence made you look out for some new means of defending me. As to what you propose of my coming nearer, and travelling through the towns by night; I do not well see how that can be done; for I have not such convenient resting places, that I can pass in them all the day time; nor is it of much consequence for the purpose of your inquiry, whether people see me in the towns, or on the road. But yet I will consider, among other things, how this can best be done. My uneasiness both of mind and body is beyond belief, and makes me incapable of writing many letters: I have only answered those which I received. I wish you would write to Basilus, and to whomsoever you think proper, also to Servilius, in my name. That I should have written nothing to you in so long an interval, you will understand to arise from want of matter to write upon, not from want of incli-

¹ That he should have returned to Brundisium after the battle of Pharsalia.

nation. Respecting your inquiry about Vatinus; I should not want his services, nor anybody's else, if they could find how to assist me. Quintus was at Patræ,² in a disposition very hostile towards me. To the same place his son went from Corcyra. I imagine they are since gone from thence along with the rest.³

LETTER VI.

I PERCEIVE your anxiety not only about your own, and the common calamities, but more particularly about me, and my affliction. And this my affliction is so far from being lessened, that it is even increased by associating yours with it. However, you see with your usual prudence to what source of consolation I am most open. For you approve of my determination,¹ and declare that at such a time I could have done nothing better. You add also (what, though of less weight than your own judgment, yet has some weight with me) that the step which I have taken is approved by others also; that is, persons of consideration. If I thought this, I should be less af-

^{1, 2} In the Peloponnesus.

³ To make their peace with Cæsar. See Letter vi.

¹ Of coming to Italy.

afflicted. "Believe me," you say. I do believe you; but I know how desirous you are that my distress should be lightened. I have never regretted my withdrawing from the army: there was such a cruel spirit, such a co-operation with barbarous nations, that a proscription was contemplated not individually, but collectively; so that it was determined by common consent that the property of you all should be the prey of his victory; of you all, I say; for there was no thought even of you unmixed with cruelty. I shall never repent of my good will;² I do repent of the measures I adopted.³ I could wish that I had retired to some remote town till I was sent for. I should have created less observation, and should have received less vexation. I should not be exposed to this present trouble.⁴ To lie miserably at Brundisium is every way painful. How can I advance nearer, as you advise, without the lictors, which the people gave me, and which can never be taken from me but by violence. These with their fasces I lately mingled for a time in the crowd, as I approached the town, through fear of some insult from the soldiers.

² Of having wished to serve Pompeius.

³ The cruel disposition manifested in Pompeius's army made Cicero repent of having joined them.

⁴ His detention at Brundisium, and the uncertainty of his reception by Cæsar's party.

I contrived to get home in time.⁵ I want you now to go to Oppius; and, provided it be thought right to advance with these lictors, I imagine they will authorise me to consider of it.⁶ For so they engage; that Cæsar will have regard not only to the preservation of my dignity, but even to the increase of it; and they exhort me to be of good courage, and to entertain the best hopes. They give me the strongest assurance of what I should more readily credit if I had remained at home. But I am entering upon things that are past. Consider then, I beg you, what remains, and consult about it with these people; and (if you think it expedient, and it meets with their approbation); that Cæsar may be the more inclined to approve what I do, let it appear to be at their suggestion. Let Trebonius, Pansa, and any others be admitted to this consultation; and let them write to inform Cæsar that what I have done, has been at their suggestion. I am quite alarmed at Tullia's illness and debility. I understand you are very kind to her, for which I am greatly obliged to you. I never had any doubt about

⁵ This passage has been variously tortured. I give what appears to me to be the most natural interpretation, without vouching for its correctness.

⁶ How he should advance with his lictors and their fasces.

Pompeius's fate.⁷ For all princes and people were so impressed with the desperate state of his affairs, that wherever he had gone, I supposed this would happen. I cannot help lamenting his fall; for I knew him to be a man of integrity, virtue, and dignity. Should I offer to console you about Fannius?⁸ He talked mischievously about your remaining. And L. Lentulus had already promised himself Hortensius's house, and Cæsar's gardens, and Baiaë. Just the same is done on this side, excepting that the other was boundless; for every body, who had staid in Italy, was esteemed in the number of enemies. But some time or another I shall be glad to talk over these matters with my mind more at ease. I hear that my brother Quintus is gone into Asia to make his peace. Of his son I have heard nothing. Inquire of Diochares, Cæsar's freedman, whom I have not seen, but who brought that letter from Alexandria. He is reported to have seen him either on his journey, or already in Asia. I look for your letter, as the occasion demands; and hope you will take care to let it be brought to me with all expedition. November 28.

⁷ He was treacherously murdered in Egypt.

⁸ Perhaps he was recently dead. Cicero seems to imply that his conversation respecting Atticus was such as entitled him to little regret.

LETTER VII.

I THANK you for your letter, in which you have accurately stated every thing which you supposed to concern me. It is settled therefore, according to the opinion you give me from these people, that I should continue to be attended by the same lictors; as it was granted to Sestius. Though I apprehend he did not retain his original lictors, but had others given him by Cæsar. For I understand that he¹ disallows such decrees of the Senate, as were passed subsequently to the departure of the Tribunes. If therefore he chooses to be consistent with himself, he may still approve of my lictors. But what have I to do with lictors, who am almost ordered to quit Italy? For Antonius sent me the copy of a letter he had received from Cæsar, in which it was stated that he had heard of Cato's, and L. Metellus's arrival in Italy, with the design of living openly in Rome; that he did not like this, from fear of its occasioning some disturbance; and that all should be excluded from Italy, except those, whose case he should himself have heard: and he expressed himself on this subject with great warmth. Therefore Antonius wrote to me re-

¹ Cæsar.

questing that I would pardon him, but that he was not at liberty to disobey these instructions. Upon this I sent L. Lamia to explain to him that Cæsar had desired Dolabella to write to me, pressing me to come to Italy as soon as possible. He then issued an order to except me and Lælius by name. Which I was sorry for; as he might have excepted us in fact, without publicly naming us. O the many heavy causes of uneasiness! which you kindly endeavour to alleviate, and not without effect; for you do indeed lessen my affliction by the very circumstance of your taking such pains to lessen it; and this I trust you will not think it burdensome to do very often. You will especially attain your purpose, if you can bring me to think that I have not entirely lost the good opinion of respectable people. Yet what can you do in this respect? Nothing truly. But if circumstances should give you any opportunity, this will afford me the best consolation. It cannot be done at present; but if any thing should arise in the course of events: like what has happened now. For it was said that I ought to have gone with Pompeius; but his fate lessens the reproach of having neglected that duty. So of all things nothing is more censured, than that I should not have gone into Africa: but I considered that the Republic ought not to be defended by the barbarous

troops of a faithless nation, especially against an army that had gained repeated victories. This perhaps will not be approved. For I hear that many good men are arrived in Africa; and I know there were many before. I am very much pressed on this subject. Here then I stand in need of some favorable chance. It may be that some, or possibly all of them, may prefer their safety to the issue of war. For if they persevere, and gain their cause, you see in what a condition I shall be. You will say, what will be their condition, if they are defeated? It will at least be a more honorable wound. These considerations distract me. You do not say why you do not prefer Sulpicius's determination to mine. For though it is less glorious than Cato's, it is however exempt both from danger, and from remorse. The last thing to be considered, is, the situation of those who are in Greece. However, these are so far better off, than I am, that they are together in considerable number; and whenever they come to Italy, they will come to their own home. Continue, as you do, to soften these matters, and to conciliate as many as you can. When you excuse yourself,² I am well aware of your reasons, and consider it for my interest that you should be there,³ if it be only to manage for me, as you have hitherto

² From going to Cicero.

³ At Rome.

done, what can be managed, with those in authority. In the first place I should be glad if you would attend to this: I apprehend there are many, who have, or will accuse me to Cæsar, as either repenting of the step I have taken,⁴ or disapproving what is done. And though both are true, yet these persons assert it out of ill will towards me, not that they have any knowledge of its being so. But that Balbus and Oppius may defend me against all such attacks, and by their frequent letters may confirm Cæsar's kind disposition; that this may effectually be done, you will use all diligence. Another reason why I should be sorry to have you leave Rome, is, that you say you have been entreated⁵—O sad business! What should I write? or what should I desire? I shall be very short, for my tears burst forth. I commit it to you, and beg you to take it under your care. Only see that, at such a time, it involve you in no difficulty. Pardon me, I beseech you: I can dwell no longer on this subject for my tears and grief. I will only say, that nothing can be more gratifying to me,

⁴ In coming to Italy.

⁵ Entreated by Tullia to assist her. The word entreated, which includes the rest, is no doubt borrowed from Atticus's own expression. Tullia had been neglected by her husband Dolabella, and left at Rome in want of every thing.

than your affection towards her. You do kindly in undertaking to write to whom you think it proper. I have met with a person, who saw Quintus the son at Samos, the father at Sicyon. Their excuse is easily made. I wish they, who have seen Cæsar before me, may be as ready to promote my interest with him, as I should be to promote theirs, if I had any opportunity. When you ask me to take it in good part, if there should be any thing in your letter that vexes me; I do take it in the very best part; and request you to tell me every thing without disguise, as you do; and to do it as often as possible. Farewell. December 19.

LETTER VIII.

THOUGH you perceive indeed how greatly I am afflicted; yet you will know it from Lepta and Trebatius. I pay severely the penalty of my rashness,¹ which you would fain persuade me is prudence: nor do I prevent your disputing the point, and writing to me as often as possible. For your letters afford me some comfort at this time. You must use every exertion through those who wish well to me, and have influence with Cæsar, particularly through Balbus and

¹ In coming to Brundisium.

Oppius, that they may write on my behalf with all diligence. For, as I hear, I am attacked both by some in person, and by letters. These must be met, as the importance of the occasion demands. Furnius² is there very unfriendly towards me; and Quintus has sent his son not only to make his own peace, but to accuse me. He gives out that I have traduced him to Cæsar; which is refuted by Cæsar himself and all his friends; and yet he does not cease, wherever he goes, to heap all sorts of reproaches upon me. Nothing ever happened to me so unaccountable, nothing in all these troubles so painful. Some atrocious things were related to me by those who had heard him talking openly at Sicyon in the hearing of many people. You know his manner; perhaps you have experienced it. It is all turned against me. But I add to my uneasiness by speaking of it, and make you uneasy too. Therefore I return to my subject, and beg you to let Balbus send somebody expressly for this purpose.³ I should be glad if you would write in my name to whom you think fit. Farewell. December 27.

² Furnius is probably mentioned, like Quintus, as one who used to be Cicero's friend, and whom it was therefore the more grievous to have against him on this occasion.

³ To counteract the calumnies of evil minded persons.

LETTER IX.

I HAVE indeed acted both incautiously, as you observe, and more hastily than I ought, and am out of all hope,¹ being kept by these exceptions² to the edicts. If they had not been made, through your care and kindness, I might be at liberty to go into some unfrequented place: now I cannot even do this. What advantage is it to have arrived before the Tribunes enter upon their office,³ if the coming at all is of no advantage? What can I hope from him,⁴ who has never been a friend to me? Since I am already undone and crushed by this law. Balbus's letters to me become daily less encouraging; and there may probably be many from many quarters to Cæsar against me. I am ruined by my own fault. No part of my troubles has been brought on by acci-

* All hope of being able to leave Brundisium.

² Letter VII. He could not without offending Cæsar, refuse to use his permission of remaining in Italy.

³ Lest they might have published some law of exclusion. But he derived little benefit from his return to Italy, while he thought it unsafe to proceed through the country amidst Cæsar's adherents with his lictors; and unworthy of him to relinquish them.

⁴ Cæsar, upon whose conduct Cicero could not depend in his present circumstances.

dent; every thing is the effect of folly. For when I saw the nature of the contest; that all was unprepared, and feeble, against troops in the highest order; I separated⁵ from them (what could I do?), and adopted counsels not so much bold, as allowable⁶ for me beyond other men. I yielded to my friends, or rather I obeyed them. Of one of them, him whom you⁷ commend to me, you will see the disposition from his own letters, which he has sent to you, and to others; and which I should never have opened, but from the following circumstances. A parcel was brought to me, which I undid, to see if there was any letter for myself; which there was not. There was one to Vatinius, and another to Ligurius, which I ordered to be taken to them. They presently called upon me burning with grief, crying out upon the perfidy of the man. They

⁵ The word *sciveram* in this place evidently comes from *scisco*, and though I do not find any corresponding signification of it, I suspect it is here equivalent to *desciveram*, and have translated it accordingly.

⁶ It would have argued more courage to join either of the contending parties; but Cicero was excusable in not joining Pompeius, by the hope of acting as a mediator of peace: and his obligations to Pompeius were such, as forbad his co-operating with Cæsar.

⁷ Quintus, in whose favor I suppose Atticus might have written to Cicero upon finding him angry at his brother's behaviour.

read to me the letters, filled with all sorts of calumnies against me. Ligurius was quite in a rage, saying that he knew Cæsar had hated him; yet had not only shewn him kindness, but had also given him so much money, out of regard to me. After receiving this shock, I was desirous of knowing what he had written to others; for I considered that it would be prejudicial to himself, if this great guilt of his should be generally known. I found they were all of the same kind. I have sent them to you, that if you think it desirable for him that they should be delivered, you may deliver them; no harm will accrue to me; for as to their being opened, I imagine Pomponia has his seal. It was his using this bitterness when we first set sail, which so affected me, that I was afterwards quite sunk: and now he is said to be solicitous not so much for himself, as against me. Thus am I pressed by all circumstances; which I am hardly able, or rather quite unable to bear.⁸ Amongst these distresses there is one equivalent to all the rest, that I shall leave my poor daughter plundered of her patrimony, and all her fortune. I should therefore be glad to see you, as you promise; for I have

⁸ Has not this expression, as well as what immediately follows, allusion to thoughts of destroying himself? Such as we find him uttering under the affliction of his banishment in the third Book.

nobody else to whom I can commend her; as I understand her mother is threatened with the same dangers,⁹ as myself. But if you should not find me, yet let this be a sufficient commendation, and do you, as far as you can, mollify her uncle towards her. I write this on my birth day; when I wish that I had never been born; or that my mother had produced nothing afterwards. I am prevented by tears from writing more.

LETTER X.

To my inconceivable distresses there has been a fresh addition from what has been related to me respecting the two Quintus's. P. Terentius, a friend of mine, has had a good deal to do as deputy contractor for the customs and revenues in provincial Asia. He met with Quintus the son at Ephesus the 13th of December, and particularly invited him to his house through friendship to me. Having made inquiries from him about me, he said the young man informed him that he was very angry with me, and shewed him a roll of paper containing a speech which he intended to make to Cæsar against me. Terentius said what he could to

⁹ The danger of having her goods forfeited.

check his senseless conduct. Afterwards, at Patræ, Quintus the father talked to him a great deal in a similar strain of slander. You are acquainted with his extravagance by the letters which I sent you. I am sure this must give you pain; to me it is most distressing, and the more so, because I imagine there will be no room for me even to expostulate with them. On the state of things in Africa, I hear accounts very different from what you mention. For they say nothing can be more steady, or better prepared; add to this, Spain,¹ and the disaffection in Italy, the declining strength and zeal of the legions, and the confusion in the city.² Where can I find any tranquillity,³ but while I am reading your letters? Which would no doubt be more frequent, if you had any thing to offer, by which you thought my cares could be lessened. But I beg you not to omit writing to me whatever happens; and those,⁴ who are so cruelly hostile to me, you may blame at least, if you cannot hate them; not with the expectation of doing any good; but to let them see

¹ Since Cæsar's rapid subjection of Spain, fresh insurrections had broken out there.

² Considerable disturbances had arisen between the Tribunes.

³ In consequence of Cicero's return to Italy, he had as much to apprehend from the success of Pompeius's party, as from that of Cæsar's.

⁴ Alluding, no doubt, to his brother, and nephew.

that you love me. I will write more to you, when you have answered my last letter. Farewell. January 21.

LETTER XI.

I AM so exhausted with the torment of my great distresses, that if there were any thing upon which I ought to write to you, I should not easily be able to execute it; much less then, when I have nothing to tell you, when especially there is not even any prospect of things becoming better. So that I am no longer anxious even for your letters, though they always bring something agreeable with them. Therefore continue to write, whenever you have an opportunity of sending. I have nothing to reply to your last, which I received now a long time ago. For in this interval I find that every thing is changed; the right cause has acquired strength, and I pay the heavy penalty of my folly.¹ I must procure for P. Sallustius thirty Sestertia (£240.), which I received from Cn. Sallustius. I shall be obliged to you to see that they are provided without delay. I have written about it to

¹ Pompeius's party was in considerable force in Africa, and Spain; and Cicero suspected that he had acted precipitately in offending them by his return to Italy.

Terentia. Even this is now almost gone. I wish therefore you would arrange with her, that I may have enough for present use. I shall perhaps be able to take it up here, if I only know that it will be supplied at Rome. You see the state of all my affairs. There is no sort of misfortune, which I do not suffer and apprehend. And the misery of this is the greater, in proportion to the greatness of my folly. He² does not cease to slander me in Greece; so that your letters have been of no avail. Farewell. March 8.

LETTER XII.

CEPHALIO delivered your letter to me the 8th of March in the evening; and the same day in the morning I had dispatched a messenger with a letter to you. Nevertheless, upon reading your letter, I have thought it right to make some reply, especially as you express yourself doubtful what excuse I shall make to Cæsar for my going away at the time when I quitted Italy. I have no occasion for any new excuse: for I have repeatedly told him by letter, and have sent word by several others, that I was unable, if I wished it, to bear the reflexions

² Quintus.

that were made upon me ; with many things to the same affect. There was nothing that I less wished him to suppose, than that I had not acted upon my own judgment in a thing of such moment. Afterwards, upon hearing from Balbus Cornelius the younger, that he conceived my brother Quintus to have been the trumpet to my march ; for so he expressed himself ; before I knew what Quintus had been writing to so many people about me ; though he had said, and done, many severe things to me in person, yet I wrote notwithstanding¹ to Cæsar in these words : “ I am no less anxious
“ for my brother Quintus, than for myself ;
“ but in my present situation I cannot venture
“ to commend him to you. So much however
“ I shall venture to ask of you, that I beg you
“ will not suppose he has done any thing to
“ lessen my duty and affection towards you ;
“ but has rather contributed to unite us together ; and has been the companion, not the
“ adviser, of my going away. Therefore in
“ other matters you will attribute to him whatever your kindness and the friendship between
“ you demands. That I may be no detriment
“ to him in your esteem, I earnestly entreat of
“ you again and again.” If then I should have

¹ The text appears to be faulty. I have supposed with Grævius that it ought to be *nihilominus*.

any meeting with Cæsar; though I do not doubt but he will be kind towards him, as he has already declared; yet I shall behave in the same manner as I have always done. But, as I see, I have much more reason to be concerned about Africa; which you represent as being daily confirmed in the hope of making terms, rather than of victory. I wish this were so: but I understand it is very much otherwise, and apprehend that you are yourself of that opinion, only write differently, not with a view to deceive me, but to encourage me; especially when to Africa is joined Spain likewise.² Respecting your recommendation of writing to Antonius and others; if you think it necessary, I should be glad if you would do this, which you have often done before. For nothing occurs to me that I ought to write. If you hear that I am unreasonably broken in spirit, what think you, when you find these noble³ actions of my son-in-law added to my former troubles? However, I hope you will not cease to write to me, as often as you can, although you should have nothing to write about. For

² See Letter x.

³ Dolabella was at this time Tribune, and wished to pass several seditious acts, in which he was opposed by Trebellius, another Tribune; from whence arose great contention and disturbances in Rome.

your letters always bring me some comfort. I have formally accepted Galio's legacy. I suppose it was a simple inheritance, since no form has been sent me. March 8.

LETTER XIII.

I HAVE hitherto received no letter by Muræna's freedman. P. Siser brought that which I am now answering. What you mention about the letter of the elder Servius; and what you say of certain people having brought information of Quintus's arrival in Syria; are neither of them true. In reply to your enquiry, how those, who have come hither, are, or have been affected towards me; I have understood that nobody has manifested any disrespect. But how little this signifies to me, I am quite sure you can judge. In my present grief every thing is intolerable to me; and nothing more so, than that I find myself in a situation, where the only things that are apparently desirable,¹ are what I have always disapproved. P. Lentulus the father is said to be at Rhodes; the son at Alexandria; and C. Cassius, it appears,

¹ The success of Cæsar's party, from which he thought he had now less to apprehend, than from that of Pompeius, which would be irritated against him in consequence of his withdrawing from them.

is gone from Rhodes to Alexandria. Quintus offers me some explanation by letter, but in terms more bitter, that his heaviest accusation. For he says that he has understood from your letters, that you were displeased with his having written to several people so unkindly about me; and that he is sorry he should have given you any uneasiness, but that he had done what was right. Then he details most foully the causes of his doing so. But neither at this time, nor before, would he have manifested his hatred towards me, unless he saw me to be every way distressed. I wish that even by travelling in the night, as you proposed, I had approached nearer to you. I can now form no conjecture either when, or where, I am likely to see you. There was no occasion for your writing to me about the co-heirs of Fufidius: for what they ask is just in itself; and whatever you had done, I should have been satisfied with it. You have long since known my wish of redeeming the Frusinian estate;² though at that time my affairs were in a better condition, and I did not think my case so desperate; yet I have still the same wish. You will consider how this may be accomplished. And I should be glad, as far as you can, that you would secure me supplies for my necessary expenses. What means I had, I presented to

² See Letter iv.

Pompeius at a time when I thought I did it prudently. For which purpose I then both took it from your bailiff, and borrowed elsewhere; while Quintus complained by letter that I had given nothing to him; though he never asked me, nor have I beheld the money myself. But I wish you would see what there is, that can be done,³ and what advice you can give me about every thing; for you know the state of my affairs. My affliction prevents my writing more. If there is any thing, which you think should be written to any body in my name, I should be glad if you would do it, as usual. Whenever you have an opportunity of sending a letter to me, I hope you will not omit it. Farewell.

LETTER XIV.

I AM far from being offended with the honest truth conveyed in your letter; in which you do not even attempt to console me, as formerly, under the general, and particular calamities, which I suffer; but acknowledge that it can no longer be done. For things are not now, as they were before, when, to say nothing more, I thought I had companions and associates.

³ About redeeming the estate at Frusinas, and providing for his necessary expenses; as well as about his brother, and every thing else.

But all who were supposed to be making their peace in Greece, and in Asia, both those who knew the state of affairs,¹ and those who did not, are said to be going into Africa. So that, besides Lælius, I have no partner in my fault ;² and even he is so far better off, as he has been received.³ About myself however, I do not doubt but Cæsar has already written to Balbus and to Oppius ; from whom I should have heard, if there had been any thing good ; and they would also have spoken with you. But I wish you would confer with them upon this subject, and let me know what answer they give you. Not that a grant of safety from Cæsar can have any assurance ;⁴ but yet it will afford an opportunity of consideration and forecast. Though I dread the sight of every body, especially with such a son-in-law ;⁵ yet in such great troubles I do not see what else⁶ I should wish for. Quintus still goes on,⁷ as both Pansa

¹ The reverses which Cæsar had suffered, and the rising hopes of the Pompeian party.

² The fault of having returned to Italy, instead of joining the Republican troops collecting in Africa.

³ Has been kindly received by Cæsar's partizans in Italy.

⁴ Because Cicero's chief apprehension now was from the success of the Pompeian party.

⁵ Dolabella, of whose conduct he was ashamed.

⁶ What I can wish for, besides a protection from Cæsar.

⁷ Continues to calumniate me.

informs me, and Hirtius. He⁸ too is said to be on his way to Africa with the rest. I will write to Minucius the father, and will send your letter. I will let you know if he does any thing.⁹ I wonder that you should have been able to send thirty Sestertia (£240.), unless it have arisen from the Fufidian estate. Yet I see it is so.¹⁰ I look for you; whom I should be particularly glad to see, if it can any how be managed; for the occasion demands it. The last act is already drawing to a conclusion;¹¹ when it is easy to judge more soundly what every thing really is.¹² Farewell.

⁸ Quintus.

⁹ If he will advance me any money.

¹⁰ That Atticus had directed Minucius to let Cicero have that money, which he would replace with Minucius's correspondent at Rome.

¹¹ So I understand the original, which is concise and thence obscure. It may be worth while here to advert to the force of the present passive, expressive of that which is *in the act of being done*. The want of a correspondent tense in English has sometimes occasioned a misapprehension of the just meaning in both Greek and Latin authors; as Luke 9, 51. *Εν τῷ συμπληρῆθαι τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ἀναλήψεώς αὐτοῦ*—"When the days of his being received up into heaven *were drawing towards their accomplishment*"—not, as in the common translation, "when the time *was come*."

¹² This seems to me to have been generally misunderstood: I conceive it to allude to the denouement of a stage play; like what is said afterwards in Letter XIX. *Jam enim mihi videtur adesse extremum.*

LETTER XV.

As you produce sufficient reason why I cannot see you at this time; pray, what ought I to do? For Cæsar seems to hold Alexandria in such a manner,¹ that he is ashamed even of writing about what is done there. But it looks as if the opposite party would soon pass over from Africa;² the Greeks³ also will return from Asia to join them, or will remain in some neutral place. What therefore do you think I ought to do? I see that it is a difficult question. For I am alone, or with one other, and can neither return to that party, nor derive any degree of hope from this. But I am desirous at least of knowing what you think; and this among other things made me wish to see you, if it could be done. I informed you

¹ Cæsar, seduced by the charms of Cleopatra, was engaged in a war to support her cause in Egypt against her brother Ptolemæus.

² Egypt, and Africa, are generally distinguished by the Roman writers; the latter signifying that part, which was reduced to a Roman province. Here, the party in Africa, means the army attached to Pompeius's cause, who were in force in the neighbourhood of Carthage; from whence Cicero apprehended they might make an attack upon Italy.

³ These Greeks are those of Pompeius's party, who had fled into Asia Minor after the battle of Pharsalia.

before that Minucius had furnished me with only twelve Sestertia (£100.); I should be glad if you could secure the payment of the rest. Quintus has written to me not only without asking pardon, but with great bitterness: the son with a degree of hatred which is surprizing. No sort of evil can be imagined, with which I am not assaulted. Yet every thing is more tolerable, than the sense of my own error, which is both strong, and constant. If I were to have those companions in my error, which I expected, yet it would be but a slender consolation. But every body's conduct besides admits of some excuse; mine admits of none. Some have been captured, some intercepted, so as not to call in question their attachment; especially when, upon being at liberty, they have rejoined their party. Even those, who voluntarily delivered themselves up to Fufius,⁴ can only be charged with timidity. And there are many of various descriptions, who, whenever they apply to them, will readily be received. You need the less wonder therefore that I cannot support such a weight of affliction. For my error alone admits of no reparation; and perhaps Lælius's; but how does that help me? They say that C. Cassius has⁵

⁴ Cæsar's lieutenant in Greece.

⁵ He had purposed to go to Alexandria to make his peace with Cæsar.

changed his intention of going to Alexandria. These things I detail to you, not that you can remove my trouble ; but that I may know whether you have any thing to offer about what preys upon me. In addition to all the rest is my son-in-law, and these other matters, of which I cannot write for weeping. I am vexed too about Æsopus's son.⁶ In short I am completely miserable. But to return to my first point ; what do you think is to be done ? Should I try to come nearer to you unobserved ? or should I cross the sea ? For it is impossible to remain here much longer. Why can nothing be settled about the Fufidian estates ? For the nature of the conditions was such, as is not usually disputed ; since the portion which appears too little, may easily be made up by a valuation. It is not without reason that I make these enquiries : for I suspect the co-heirs may think my situation very doubtful, and may on that account keep the business in suspense. Farewell. May 14.

⁶ Æsopus the actor had been received into familiarity by Cicero ; but his son was a profligate.

LETTER XVI.

It is not by my fault at this time (though before I have been faulty enough) that I derive no consolation from that letter.¹ For it is written in a meagre style, and bears strong marks of not coming from Cæsar; which I imagine you must have perceived. About meeting him I will do as you advise:² for there is no great expectation of his arrival; and those who come from Asia say that nothing has been heard about peace; in the hope of which I have fallen into this error.³ I see nothing to be hoped; now especially, when such a wound has been received in Asia, in Illyricum, in the affair of Cassius,⁴ in Alexandria itself, in Rome, in Italy. For my part, even if he should come back notwithstanding the war⁵ in which he is still said to be engaged,

¹ A letter pretending to come from Cæsar.

² Atticus seems to have advised him not to put himself forward in saluting Cæsar on his return.

³ The error of returning to Italy after the battle of Pharsalia, when he had expected that the opposite parties would have made peace.

⁴ Q. Cassius Longinus had been left in the command of Spain, where the people and soldiers revolted to the Pompeian party. In the other provinces here mentioned, Cæsar's troops had met with some check.

⁵ The war in Egypt.

yet I apprehend the business will be settled⁶ before his return. As to what you mention of a certain degree of joy being excited in all good people upon the news of Cæsar's letter; you indeed omit nothing, which you think can be any source of comfort: but I cannot persuade myself that any good man would think my safety worth the begging it of Cæsar; and the rather, because I have now no companion in such a course. Those in Asia wait for the issue of events; the Greeks afford a hope of pardon to Fufius himself.⁷ These people had at first the same fear as I, and adopted the same resolution: but the delay at Alexandria has righted their cause,⁸ and upset mine. Therefore I still request of you, as in my former letters, that if you see any thing in my ruined condition, which you think I ought to do, you will inform me. If I am received by

⁶ Cicero was apprehensive of the army in Africa getting possession of Italy, in opposition to Cæsar.

⁷ I understand this to mean that Fufius, who had been left in Greece, and to whom the Greeks had sued for pardon, now rested the hope of his own pardon from the reviving ascendancy of the Pompeians, upon the intercession of these very Greeks.

⁸ By Cæsar's delay at Alexandria the Greeks had time to recover from their first alarm, and to observe the actual progress of affairs. Cicero, who had acted upon the presumption of Cæsar's superiority, now found himself in a difficult strait.

Cæsar's party, (which you see is not the case) yet as long as the war lasts I am uncertain what I should do, or whither I should go. But if I am cast off, the difficulty is still greater. I look therefore for a letter from you, and beg you will write explicitly. With regard to your advice of writing to Quintus on the occasion of this letter; I would do it, if the letter gave me any satisfaction. Though somebody wrote to me lately in the following terms; "In these troubles I am not sorry to be at Patræ. I should be there with more satisfaction, if your brother spoke of you in a way that I liked to hear." When you say that he complained of my not writing to him; I once only received a letter from him, to which I sent an answer by Cephalius, who was detained several months by contrary weather. I have before mentioned to you that Quintus the son had written to me with great rudeness. The last thing I have to beg of you is, that, if you think it right, and can undertake it, you would join with Camillus in speaking to Terentia about her Will.⁹ The times require that she should

⁹ Terentia's conduct and extravagance had now made Cicero resolve upon a divorce. And in such a case, where there were children, it was the custom for each party to make a settlement by Will on their common offspring, proportioned to their several estates. For when a wife was not guilty of infidelity, her dowry was restored to her.

consider of it, and give satisfaction where it is due. I have understood from Philotimus, that she is guilty of some great¹⁰ misconduct; which I can scarcely believe. But at all events, if any thing can be done, it must be looked to. I long to hear from you about every thing, especially what you may say about her. Upon this I want your opinion, even if you have nothing to propose: for I shall consider that as conclusive, June 3.

LETTER XVII.

I SEND this by another person's messenger who is in a hurry to set off: for this reason it will be the shorter, and because I am going to send one of my own. My dear Tullia came to me the twelfth of June, and acquainted me with the numerous instances of your attention and kindness to her, and brought me three letters. But I not only could not take that pleasure, which I ought, in the virtue, gentleness, and affection of an exemplary daughter; but was even touched with inconceivable grief at the thought of such a mind being involved in so sad a fortune; and that, by no fault of hers,

¹⁰ This misconduct probably related to her appropriation and waste of Cicero's property. See Book VI. Letter IV. n. 5. and Letter XXII. of this Book.

but by my egregious folly. Now therefore I neither expect consolation from you, which I know you are anxious to administer; nor advice, for which there is no room. I perceive indeed both by your former letter, and by the last, that you have tried every thing. I think of sending Cicero¹ to Cæsar with Sallustius. I see no reason why I should detain Tullia here any longer in such a state of general affliction. I therefore mean to send her back to her mother, as soon as she will let me. In return for your letter of consolation,² suppose me to have said what your own understanding suggests as proper for the occasion. What you mention of Oppius's conversation,³ is quite consonant with my suspicion: yet, speak as I might, I should never persuade these people that I approved of their conduct. However, I will observe what moderation I can. Though I see not what it signifies to me, if I should incur their displeasure. I find you have just cause to prevent your coming to me; for which I am very sorry. Nobody brings any

¹ His son.

² The text here is obscure, and perhaps faulty; but I think it intelligible without any conjectural emendations, which should never be admitted unnecessarily.

³ The context leads one to suppose that Oppius, who was of Cæsar's party, objected to Cicero's freedom of speech.

account of Cæsar's departure from Alexandria. It is certain that no person has come from thence since the 15th of March, nor has any letter been received from him since the 13th of December: by which you see that the affair of the letter⁴ dated February 9, (which, even if it were genuine, would be of little account) is not true. I understand that L. Terentius is come from Africa, and has arrived at Pæstum. I should like to know what intelligence he brings, and how he got away,⁵ and what is doing in Africa. He is reported to have been dispatched by Nasidius. If you find out how this is, I wish you would let me know. Respecting the ten Sestertia (£80.) I will do as you direct. Farewell. June 14.

LETTER XVIII.

THERE is yet no rumour of Cæsar's departure from Alexandria; on the contrary it is believed that he is fully occupied. I shall not therefore send my son, as I had intended; and must

⁴ That, of which Cicero speaks in Letter xvi.

⁵ Scipio, who had the command of the sea coast prohibited all passengers, through fear of their establishing an intercourse with Cæsar.

beg of you to extricate me from hence.¹ For any penalty is better than continuing here. Upon this subject I have written to Antonius, and to Balbus, and to Oppius. For whether there be war in Italy by land, or by sea, it is by no means desirable for me to be here. Both of these may possibly happen; certainly one of them. I learned from your account of Oppius's conversation, what was their plan² of proceeding; but I beg you to make them alter it. I expect nothing whatever, but what is miserable; yet nothing can be worse than my present situation. I wish you therefore to speak to Antonius, and those others, and to expedite this business as you can. Write to me about every thing as soon as possible. Farewell. June 20.

¹ Cicero was still at Brundisium, whence he could not depart without danger of giving offence by retaining his lictors, or of dishonoring his rank by dismissing them. See above Letter vi.

² This probably relates to Cæsar's lieutenants in Italy, who acted, he says, as if they were determined to keep him shut up in Brundisium, being perhaps unwilling to determine any thing about his lictors till they should receive instructions from Cæsar. He applies to Atticus to procure authority for his removal without compromising his dignity.

LETTER XIX.

(GRÆV. XXV.)

I READILY assent to your letter, in which you say, in many words, that you have no advice to offer, that can be of service to me. There is assuredly no consolation, that can alleviate my suffering. For nothing has happened by accident; else it might be born: but I have occasioned every thing by those errors and distresses of both mind, and body, which I wish my nearest connexions¹ had chosen to heal, rather than to aggravate. Since no hope is afforded me either of your advice, or of any consolation, I will not hereafter ask it of you. I trust however that you will not cease to write; but will let me know whatever occurs to your mind, whilst you have any body to send, or there is any body to send to;² which will not be very long. There is a doubtful report of his³ having left Alexandria; which arose from a letter of Sulpicius, and has received confirmation from all the subsequent accounts. Whether it be true or false, is of

¹ Alluding in the first place to his brother; and perhaps also to Dolabella and Terentia.

² Said in a sort of despair of his being able to support his troubles. See Letter ix. n. 8.

³ Cæsar.

so little moment to me, that I know not which I should prefer. What I wrote to you some time since about the⁴ Will, I wish they could place among the adverse letters. I am quite distressed at the wretched means of this poor creature,⁵ and wish you could point out to me any way in which I might assist her. I see the same difficulty which there was in giving advice before. But this object disturbs me beyond every thing. I was blind in the second payment of her fortune. I wish somebody else—but it is now past. I beg you, in these ruinous circumstances, if any thing can be raised, and got together, out of my plate, with some part of my furniture, so as to be in security, that you would pay attention to it. For things seem to be drawing to a conclusion, without any conditions of peace; and the present state, even without an enemy, is incapable of subsisting. You may take an opportunity, if you think fit, of talking with Terentia upon these matters. I cannot write all that I feel. Farewell. July 5th.

⁴ Letter xvi. The subsequent line is of very doubtful interpretation. It may perhaps allude to some expression of Atticus, or his friends, calling the letter of Cicero in which he spoke of his Will, as one of his croaking letters.

⁵ His daughter Tullia: for in the very next, and several other letters, he speaks of her in similar terms.

LETTER XX.

(GRÆV. XXIII.)

CAMILLUS has informed me that you had spoken to him on the subject, about which I wrote¹ to beg you would communicate with him. I am now expecting to hear from you; though if it is otherwise than it ought to be, I do not see how it can be altered. But having received a letter from him,² I want one from you also; and conclude that you had not learnt all you wished; provided only that you are well. For you mentioned your being attacked with some kind of indisposition. One Acusius arrived from Rhodes the 24th of June, and brought word that Quintus the son had set out to join Cæsar the 29th of May; and that Philotimus had arrived at Rhodes the day before with a letter³ for me. You will hear Acusius himself; but he travels slowly; in consequence of which I shall deliver my letter to a more expeditious messenger. What may be in Cæsar's letter I know not; but my brother

¹ Namely, the urging Terentia to make her Will. See Letter xvi.

² The context appears sufficiently to warrant the reading with Manucius, *ab illo*. The text of this letter seems to be faulty in several parts.

³ From Cæsar.

Quintus highly congratulates me. To say the truth, so great has been my error, that I can obtain nothing, even in imagination, which can be tolerable to me. I entreat you to think about this poor creature;⁴ and (what I lately mentioned to you) that something may be made up to secure her from want; and likewise about this Will. I wish also that I had attended before to that other business;⁵ but I was afraid of every thing. There was nothing better in this deplorable situation than a separation. I should then have done something, like one alive;⁶ whether the cause assigned were the law for expunging debts, or the nightly violences, or his commerce with Metella, or all together.⁷ Her property would not then have been lost; and I should have appeared to feel a becoming indignation. I well remember your⁸ letter; but I remember also that time: though any thing was preferable. Now he seems himself to threaten it.⁹ For I hear such things respecting the state of

⁴ Tullia.

⁵ The business of his daughter's divorce.

⁶ Alive to his situation.

⁷ Any, or all these offences on the part of Dolabella, would have justified Cicero in suing for a divorce for his daughter.

⁸ In which it is to be supposed that Atticus advised Tullia's divorce.

⁹ By his conduct regardless of all propriety.

the Republic;¹⁰ O Gods! My son-in-law especially! That he should do this; even expunge all former debts! I think with you therefore that a bill of divorce should be sent. He will perhaps demand the third instalment of her dower. Consider therefore whether I should wait till it originate with himself; or whether I should anticipate him. If it be any how possible, even by travelling at night, I will try to see you. I hope you will write to me upon these matters, and any thing else which it may concern me to know. Farewell.

LETTER XXI.

(GRÆV. XIX.)

HAVING an opportunity of writing by your servant, I would not let it slip, though I have nothing to say. You write to me less frequently than you used, and shorter; which I impute to your having nothing that you think I can like to read, or to hear. But if there is any thing, of whatever kind it may be, I should wish you to let me know it. The only thing that would be desirable for me is, if any thing can be done respecting a peace; of which in truth I entertain no hope. Yet since you

¹⁰ The text is very uncertain.

sometimes slightly mention it, you compel me to hope for what is hardly within the compass of my wishes. Philotimus is expected the middle of August; I know nothing more about him. I shall be glad to receive your answer to what I mentioned to you in a former letter.¹ I have yet time enough in the midst of calamities to use some precaution, though I have hitherto never used any. Farewell. July 22.

LETTER XXII.

(GRÆV. XXIV.)

WHAT you sometime since mentioned to me,¹ and what you have twice repeated in your letters to Tullia about me, I perceive to be true. And I am the more miserable (though my wretchedness appeared to admit of no addition) because I not only must not resent the great injury I have received;² but cannot even lament it with impunity. Therefore I must try to bear it. But when I have born it,

¹ Letter xx., respecting his daughter's divorce, and Terentia's Will.

¹ This probably alludes to Cicero's speaking too freely upon the state of affairs; which is mentioned more distinctly in the latter part of this letter, and was before noticed in Letter xvii.

² His not being at liberty to quit Brundisium.

yet all the calamities are to be sustained, which you caution me to prevent.³ For such is the offence I have committed, that in every state of affairs, and under every party, it is likely to be attended with the same consequence.⁴ But I shall proceed in my own hand,⁵ since what follows demands secrecy. See, I beseech you, even now about the Will. The idea of its having been made at the time when she began to inquire, did not I imagine alarm you (else she would not have asked), neither does it alarm me. Yet, as if it were so, having once entered upon the subject, you may advise her to entrust it to somebody, whose fortune is exempt from the hazard of this war. I should like above all that it might be to you, if she is of the same mind. I conceal from the poor creature that in this I am apprehensive of that other danger.⁶ I am well aware that nothing can be sold now; but things may be laid by,

³ The danger of giving offence to Cæsar.

⁴ Cicero conceived that Cæsar was so much displeased with his having joined Pompeius; and the Pompeians with his having deserted them that his own ruin would ensue either way.

⁵ The former part of his letter being written by an amanuensis.

⁶ The confiscation of his property: in apprehension of which he wished to have Terentia's settled by Will, and placed in the hands of some trustee, who would not be exposed to the same ruin.

and secreted, sō as to escape that ruin which hangs over us. For when you say that my own property will be ready for my use, and yours for Terentia; yours I grant; but what can there be of mine? Respecting Terentia however (to pass by all other grievances, which are innumerable) what can be worse than this? You had written to her to send a bill of exchange for 12 Sestertia (£100.), this being what remained out of the silver. She sent me ten Sestertia (£80.), and added that this was all which remained. You see what a person would do in a large concern, who could purloin this little from a small one. Philotimus has not only not arrived, but has not even acquainted me by letter, or by message, what he is doing. Some, who are come from Ephesus, relate that they saw him there going to law about some disputes of his own, which it is probable may be put off till Cæsar's arrival. So that I imagine he either has nothing, which he thinks it of importance to deliver quickly to me (in which case I am the more neglected); or, if he has any thing, he does not trouble himself to convey it to me till all his own business is finished. All this gives me great uneasiness; yet not so much, as perhaps it ought; for I apprehend nothing signifies less to me, than what is brought from thence. Why I think

so,⁷ I am persuaded you know. When you caution me about accommodating my countenance and language to the time; difficult as this is, I would however command myself, if I thought it at all signified to me. When you say in your letter that you think the business⁸ of Africa may be settled, I wish you had added why you think so. No reason occurs to me to suppose that it can be done; but if there should be any thing, which has a ray of consolation, I hope you will write to acquaint me with it: or if, as I perceive, there should be nothing, write to tell me even this. If I should soon hear any thing, I will write to you. Farewell. August 6.

LETTER XXIII.

(GRÆV. XX.)

ON the 16th of August arrived C. Trebonius from Seleucea Pieria, after a voyage of 27 days. He reported that he had seen Quintus the son, and Hirtius, with Cæsar, at Antioch; and that they had obtained all that they asked on behalf of Quintus without any difficulty.

⁷ Because he thought himself equally doomed to suffer from the success of either party.

⁸ The war in Africa may be terminated by negotiation.

At which I should the more rejoice, if this concession afforded me any assurance of hope. But there are other things to be feared, and from other quarters; and what is granted by Cæsar, as by a master, is still under his control. He has also pardoned Sallustius;¹ and indeed is said to refuse nobody. Which itself is suspicious that inquiry may only be deferred. M. son to Quintus Gallius, has restored Sallustius's slaves. He came to transport the legions into Sicily; and brings word that Cæsar is presently going thither from Patræ. If he does, I² shall go to some place nearer Rome, as I wish I had done before. I am longing to receive your answer to the letter in which I lately requested your advice. Farewell. August 17.

¹ Perhaps the same, with whom Cicero had thought of sending his son. Letter xvii.

² It may seem at first contradictory, that Cicero should here speak of removing from Brundisium, when in the preceding letter he regrets his inability to do so. But probably his stay at Brundisium may have been thought proper, in order to salute Cæsar on his arrival; and this reason would cease, when Cæsar should pass into Sicily and Africa without touching in Italy.

LETTER XXIV.

(GRÆV. XXI.)

ON the 27th of August I received your letter dated the 21st; and the pain arising from Quintus's former misconduct, which I had now laid aside, I felt most severely upon reading his letter. Though you could not any how avoid sending me the letter; yet I would rather it had not been sent. In answer to what you say about the Will, you must judge what can be done, and how. About the money, she¹ wrote as I informed you before. If there is occasion, I must draw from the resource you mention. It is not probable that Cæsar will reach Athens by the first of September. Many things are said to detain him in Asia, especially Pharnaces.² The 12th legion, to which Sulla came in the first instance, is reported to have driven him away by stones.³ They do not suppose that any of them will stir. It is expected that Cæsar will proceed directly from

¹ Terentia. See Letter xxii.

² Pharnaces, the son of Mithridates, had successfully opposed Cæsar's forces in Asia Minor under Cn. Domitius Calvinus.

³ They refused to go into Africa till they should have received their pay. Letter xxv.

Patræ to Sicily: but if this⁴ be true, he will be under the necessity of coming hither. And I wish he had come before: for I should then have got away somewhere or other. Now I am afraid of being obliged to wait, and among other things to bear in misery the unhealthiness of this place. What you advise of my taking care to act suitably to the time, I would do, if circumstances permitted, and if it were any how possible. But amidst such great offences on my part, and such great injuries on the part of my relations,⁵ I can neither do any thing with becoming dignity, nor wear the appearance of it. You compare the times of Sulla; when every thing was conducted splendidly in its kind, though a little imtemperately in the manner. But I lay aside⁶ all considerations of this sort; and much rather prefer what may be advantageous to the community, with whose interest I have united my own. I should hope however that you will write to me as often

⁴ This account of the troops refusing to march.

⁵ Alluding to Terentia, to Quintus, and to Dolabella; whose behaviour had very much vexed and mortified his too irritable mind.

⁶ Atticus had probably recommended the necessity of temporizing, as in the times of Sulla; to which I understand Cicero to reply, that the cases are not similar; and that at all events his own views were directed to the public good, not to his private security. Literally thus—
“But these things are of such a kind as I must forget.”

as you can, particularly as nobody else writes : but if every body wrote, yet I should be very anxious for your letters. You say that Cæsar will be more disposed to forgive Quintus at my intercession ; but I before wrote you word, that he at once granted to Quintus the son every thing he desired, without any mention of me.⁷ Farewell.

LETTER XXV.

(GRÆV. XXII.)

BALBUS's messenger delivered the packet¹ to me very carefully. For² you write as if you were afraid I may not have received those letters, which I wish indeed had never been delivered to me : for they increased my affliction ; and into whose ever hands they had fallen, they would have communicated nothing new. For what is so universally known, as his³ animosity against me, and this stile of his letters ? Which I imagine Cæsar transmitted to these persons, not because he was offended

⁷ Letter xxiii.

¹ This packet contained copies of Quintus's letters, which seem to have been transmitted to Italy by Cæsar's direction.

² This explains the reason of Cicero's mentioning the safe delivery of the packet.

³ Quintus's.

with Quintus's baseness, but for the sake of making my misfortunes more public. For when you say that you are afraid they may injure him,⁴ and that you are endeavouring to remedy this; Cæsar did not even wait to be asked about him.⁵ This I am not sorry for: I am more sorry that my own requests should have no effect. Sulla, as I conjecture, will be here to-morrow with Messalla. They are hastening to Cæsar after being driven away by the soldiers, who refuse to go any where till they have received their pay. He⁶ will therefore come hither, which was not expected. But it will be some time first; for he travels so as to spend several days in the principal towns. And, do what he will, Pharnaces will occasion some delay. What therefore do you think I ought to do? For my health already supports with difficulty the effect of this unwholesome air, which occasions additional uneasiness in my distress. Shall I beg these people,⁷ who are going to him, to make my excuses? And shall I proceed nearer to Rome? Pray consider this; and, what in spite of my repeated entreaties you have not hitherto done, assist me with your advice. I know it is a thing of

⁴ Quintus.

⁵ Forgave him without waiting to be entreated. See Letter xxiii.

⁶ Cæsar.

⁷ Sulla and Messalla.

difficulty ; yet do it as may be in these troubles. It is besides of great consequence to me to see you : I shall have gained something, if that happens. You will attend to the business of the Will, as you mention.

A few days after Cicero had sent this last letter, Cæsar unexpectedly arrived in Italy. He landed at Tarentum in September ; and on the first notice of his setting forwards towards Rome, Cicero set out on foot to meet him. Cæsar no sooner saw him, than he alighted and ran to embrace him ; then walked with him alone, conversing familiarly with him for some time. Cicero followed Cæsar to Rome. At the end of the year Cæsar embarked for Africa, to pursue the war against Scipio and the other Pompeian generals.

BOOK XII.

LETTER I.

It is now the eleventh day since we parted, and I scrawl these few lines, on the point of going from home before dawn. I design to get to day to Anagninum, to-morrow to Tusculanum, and to spend there one day; so that on the 28th I shall observe our appointment. And I wish I may be able to run immediately afterwards to the embrace of my dear Tullia, and to get a kiss of Attica.¹ Pray write to me all about her;² that while I stay in Tusculanum I may know what she prattles; or, if she is in the country, what she writes to you. In the mean time either send her, or give her, my love, and likewise to Pilia; and though we shall soon meet, yet write to me if you have any thing to say. While I was folding up this letter, the messenger, who had travelled all night, came to me with yours. Upon reading

¹ Atticus's daughter.

² What relates to Attica.

which I have been much concerned at Attica's indisposition. I have learned from your letter every thing else, which I expected. But as to what you say of the fire in the morning,³ it is a greater sign of age to waver in memory. For I had fixed the 29th with Axius, the thirtieth with you, and the day of my arrival with Quintus, that is, the 28th. This is all I have to say to you: there is nothing new. What need of writing then? What? When we are together, and prattle about any thing that comes into our heads, the very talking, even if it is about nothing, has a sweetness in the conversation itself.

LETTER II.

HERE however¹ it is rumoured that Marcus has perished by shipwreck; that Asinius has been delivered up alive into the hands of the

³ It is reasonable to suppose this may refer to some expression of Atticus joking with Cicero for wanting a fire in the morning, like an old man; to which Cicero replies that it is a greater sign of age to lose one's memory, as Atticus appears to have done in making some mistake respecting the arrangement of the days after Cicero should have returned to Rome.

¹ It is to be presumed that this refers to a previous letter received from Atticus, in which he might have said there was no news.

soldiers;² that fifty ships have been carried into Utica by this adverse wind; that Pompeius³ is not to be found, nor has he been in the Balearic islands,⁴ as Patienus affirms. But there is no authority for any thing. I send you what has been talked of in your absence. In the mean time Games are to be celebrated at Præneste: there will be Hirtius, and all that party;⁵ and the games are to last eight days. What feasting! What gaiety! While this is going on, the business⁶ has perhaps been settled. O marvellous men.⁷ But Balbus is building: for what cares he? Yet, if you consider, for one who studies not what is right, but what is agreeable,⁸ has he not done well? "And are you asleep all this while?" "It is time you should explain your purpose, if you mean to do any thing."⁹ If you ask what I think; I think the proper purpose of

² The Pompeians.

³ The son of Cn. Pompeius Magnus.

⁴ Majorca, Minorca, and Ivica.

⁵ Cæsar's party.

⁶ The business of the war in Africa.

⁷ To be given to sports at such a time.

⁸ Agreeably to the maxims of the Epicureans, which Atticus had adopted.

⁹ I understand the foregoing to be addressed to Cicero in the person of Atticus; to which Cicero subjoins his reply.

life is, to be useful.¹⁰ But why should I say much? I shall presently see you; and, as I hope, from the road strait to me; when we will together appoint a day for Tyrannio,¹¹ and arrange any thing else that is to be done.

LETTER III.

EXCEPTING yourself, I believe nobody is less of a flatterer, than I am; or if we are either of us occasionally so towards any body, at least it is never towards each other. Listen to me then, when I say this without any deceit: that I wish I may die, my Atticus, if not only my Tusculanum (where I am otherwise very happy), but the islands of the blessed spirits¹ are so precious in my sight, that I

¹⁰ Conformably with what he says in his first book *De Legibus* c. 20. *Quippe cum antiqui omnes, quod secundum naturam esset, quo juvaremur in vita, bonum esse decreverint,*

¹¹ To read together some work which Tyrannio had lately written. See Letter vi.

¹ Called also the Fortunate Islands, into which the spirits of good men were supposed to pass after death. They are believed to be the same as the Canaries. These were formerly only casually and imperfectly known, and had ascribed to them beauties which they never really possessed.

could be content always to be there without you. Therefore, to attribute to you the same feeling (which indeed is the case), let these three days,² of which you speak, be endured patiently; but I should be glad to know whether you come to day immediately from the auction, or on what day. In the mean time I occupy myself with my books, and am sorry that I have not got Vennonius's history. However, not to be silent about my affairs, there are three ways of recovering that debt which is granted³ me by Cæsar; either by purchasing at the sale (I would rather lose it: though independent of its baseness, I imagine this would itself be to lose it); or by assignment from a broker at a year's credit (who is there, that I

² *Hoc triduum* probably refers to Atticus's own expression in some former letter, putting off his visit to Cicero for three days. It may be observed that Cicero was a very early riser, often writing his letters before it was light: he may very well therefore have sent to Atticus at Rome, only about twelve miles distant, to know if he might expect him that day.

³ It having been seen that at the approach of the war Cicero was indebted to Cæsar, it is not probable that he could subsequently have become his creditor. I am inclined to think therefore that this debt to Cicero may have been due from one of Pompeius's party, whose goods were confiscated; but out of which Cæsar may have permitted Cicero to indemnify himself.

could trust? Or when would that Metonic⁴ year arrive?); or by Vectenus's agreement for one⁵ half. Think about it. I am afraid after all that this man may make no sale; but that he may hasten to add his applause at the conclusion of the games, lest a person of such importance⁶ should be disregarded. But it⁷ shall be attended to.

LETTER IV. .

YOUR letter was most acceptable and delightful to me. How say you? I have recovered my holiday.¹ For I was troubled at Tiro's account of your having appeared to him to be

⁴ Alluding to the cycle of 19 years invented by Meto, in which time it was calculated (but not correctly) that the Sun and Moon would return to the same positions about the Earth.

⁵ Being content to receive one half of the debt; as it is probable Vectenus might have done on some similar occasion.

⁶ Said ironically; importing that this partizan of Cæsar's, whoever he was, might be glad to push himself into notice by his applause.

⁷ The recovery of his money.

¹ Probably Cicero might have designed to go up to Rome on occasion of his friend's illness; but upon receiving a good account, determined to prolong his holidays another day.

flushed. I shall add therefore one day more, as you propose. Respecting Cato, it is a problem fit for Archimedes.² It is impossible for me to write what your companions³ will read not merely with satisfaction, but even with patience. For even if I should refrain from mentioning the opinions he has delivered, and all that zeal and wisdom, which he shewed on behalf of the Republic; if I should drily attempt to commend his dignity and firmness; this alone may be worth hearing; but such a man cannot justly be praised, unless it is set forth that this state of things, which is now established, he saw while it was yet future, and strove to prevent; and that he might not see it accomplished, relinquished his life. Of these things what is there, that I can render palatable to Aledius?⁴ But pray take care of your health, and that prudence, which you shew in every thing, shew especially in your own recovery.

² It was a problem of exceeding difficulty to write his proposed panegyric upon Cato so as not to offend Cæsar.

³ Of Cæsar's party.

⁴ Some one studius of pleasing Cæsar. He is mentioned again, Letter xxiii. and xxiv.

LETTER V.

“QUINTUS the father for the fourth time,”¹ or rather for the thousandth time, shews his want of sense in taking pleasure at his son and Statius being made Lupercans,² to see his family loaded with this double disgrace. I may add also Philotimus as a third. What singular folly; if my own³ were not still greater. But what face can he have to ask you to defray his expenses for this purpose? Suppose him to have come to no “dry spring,” but to Pirene⁴ itself; or, as you say, to drink in your fountain “the emerging flood of Alpheus;”⁵

¹ The original is part of a verse of Ennius, quoted by A. Gell. 10, 1. “Quintus pater quartum fit Consul.”

² The Lupercans were those who conducted the festivities of the Lupercalia, instituted in honor of Pan, on which occasion they ran about the streets almost naked. There were formerly two companies of Lupercans, to whom Cæsar had lately added a third, into which people were desirous of being admitted; but Cicero thought this flattery unbecoming his family.

³ By his own folly he probably means the part he had acted in the civil war, with which he always appears to be dissatisfied.

⁴ An abundant spring near Corinth, sacred to the Muses.

⁵ The original is taken from Pindar, who thus characterizes the fountain Arethuse, feigned to be derived from

especially under his great embarrassments. Where can this end? But it is his affair. I am much pleased with my Cato: but so was Bassus Lucilius⁶ with his performances. About Cælius⁷ you will enquire, as you mention; I am quite ignorant. Not only his ability, but his character should be known. You will let me know if you have any doubts about Hortensius and Virginius; though, as far as I see, you will not easily find any thing more desirable. You will negotiate with Mustela, as you mention, when Crispus arrives. I wrote to Aulus to tell him that I had explained to Piso what I knew for certain about the gold. For I agree with you that this business is protracted too long, and that every thing should now be got together from all parts. I plainly perceive that your whole time and attention is taken up with my concerns; and that your

the river Alpheus in the Peloponnesus, passing under the sea, and rising up in Sicily. Cicero means to say that it was absurd for his brother, who was considerably embarrassed in his fortune, to incur such an expence, and to rely upon Atticus's resources.

⁶ Some obscure author, whose works pleased nobody but himself.

⁷ This part of the letter seems to allude to Cicero's negotiations with different bankers, or brokers, about the sale of his plate, which he wished to exchange for gold, either to be secreted, or taken with him, in case of insurrection, or counter-revolution.

desire of coming to me is prevented by my business. But I consider you as actually with me, not only because you are conducting my affairs, but also because I seem to see how you conduct them. For no hour of your occupation passes without my knowledge. I find that Tubulus⁸ was Prætor in the Consulship of L. Metellus and Q. Maximus. Now I wish to know under what Consuls P. Scævola, the Pontifex Maximus, was Tribune of the people. I imagine it was under the next, Cæpio and Pompeius; for he was Prætor under P. Furius and Sex. Atilius. You will give me therefore the date of his Tribunate. And, if you can, let me know with what crime Tubulus was charged. Pray see too whether L. Libo (he who accused Ser. Galba) was Tribune of the people in the Consulship of Censorinus and Manilius, or in that of T. Quintus and Manius Acilius. For I am perplexed by the Fannian Epitome of Brutus, or rather Brutus's Epitome of Fannius's History. I wrote what I found in the latter part of that work; in following which I called this Fannius, who wrote the history, son-in-law to Lælius: but you demonstratively refuted it. Now Brutus and

* This, and what follows, probably alludes to Cicero's Treatise De Finibus, on which he was then engaged, and doubtful of some circumstances and dates mentioned in the second Book.

Fannius refute you. I had understood from Hortensius, who is good authority, that it was as Brutus states. Disentangle therefore this matter. I have sent Tiro to meet Dolabella. He will return to me the thirteenth; and I shall hope to see you the next day. I perceive the great interest you take in my dear Tullia; and that this may always be the case, I earnestly intreat you. So then, all is still open to consideration;⁹ for so you write word. Though I wished to avoid the beginning of the month,¹⁰ and to escape the ledger of the Nicasios,¹¹ and I have my own accounts to make up; yet nothing is of sufficient moment to make me absent myself from you; being actually at Rome, and hoping very soon to see you; though every day the hours seem long whilst I am expecting you. You know that I am no flatterer; and say therefore something less, than I feel.

⁹ I understand this to relate to his daughter's divorce.

¹⁰ This is supposed to be owing to his unwillingness to appear in the Senate convened by order of Cæsar on the first of August.

¹¹ The meaning of this is uncertain, but most probably relates to the payment of interest to some usurers of this name.

LETTER VI.

WITH respect to Cælius, pray take care, that there is no defect in the gold. I know the way of these things.¹ But the loss from the exchange is quite enough; and if to this is added the gold itself—But what am I saying? You will see after it. Here you have something in Hegesius's style,² which Varro commends. I come now to Tyrannio.³ What say you? Is this true? and without me? How often have I, when I was at leisure, yet refrained from reading it without you? How therefore can you excuse this? There is but one way; by sending me the book; which I particularly beg you to do: though the book itself will not delight me more, than I have been delighted with your admiration of it. For I love every body that shews his attachment to his countrymen;⁴ and am pleased with your

¹ I understand this to mean, I know how liable gold is to be adulterated.

² Some author, whose manner of writing bare some resemblance to the preceding sentence, perhaps the interruption and interrogation.

³ See Letter II.

⁴ Atticus, though not properly an Athenian, is elsewhere considered as such, *ita enim se Athenis collocavit, ut sit pæne unus ex Atticis* (Fin. 5, 2.) as indeed his name im-

great admiration of so subtile a speculation. Though indeed your observations are all of that kind:⁵ for you are fond of that science, by which alone the understanding is nourished. But pray, what is there in that acute and deep research, which has reference to the ultimate principle⁶ of morals? However, this is a long inquiry; and you are engaged perhaps in some business of mine; and instead of that dry basking⁷ which you overdid on my lawn, I shall expect to be entertained with ointments and elegances. But, to go back to my former subject, I beg you to send the book: for it is truly yours, since it has been sent to you. “Have you so much leisure from your affairs,

plies. Cicero's meaning in this place is, that Atticus, by his approbation of Tyrannio's subtilty in reasoning, shews his attachment to the taste of his countrymen the Athenians.

⁵ Distinguished by niceness of judgment, and acuteness, by which the mind is exercised.

⁶ Cicero being at this time engaged in his treatise *De Finibus*.

⁷ This probably alludes to some conversation on the foundation of Moral duty held at Cicero's house during the time of their basking in the sun, as was usual among the ancient Romans. The word *abusus* *es* seems to imply that Atticus had carried this to a prejudicial extent: the ointments and elegances mentioned, are intended to designate Atticus's acuteness compared with Cicero's drier statement; ointments being often used previous to basking.

“Chremes,”⁸ that you can read also my Orator? Well done! I am much obliged; and shall be still more so, if not only in your own copy, but in those for other people, you will get your librarians to insert Aristophanes in the place of Eupolis.⁹ Cæsar I imagine meant to rally you upon using the word *quæso*, which is however quaint and pleasing. At the same time he so insists upon your being under no anxiety, that I can have no doubt of his intention.¹⁰ I am sorry that Attica’s indisposition¹¹ should continue so long; but as she has now no shivering, I hope all is going on as we could wish.

LETTER VII.

I HAVE made a short note of every thing that you desire, and have delivered it to Eros; indeed more than you ask; and amongst other things what relates to my son, the first notice of whose wish I received from you. I talked freely with him: and, if it is convenient to

⁸ This is a verse of Terentius.

⁹ Cicero, in his piece entitled Orator, had, it seems, erroneously put Eupolis for Aristophanes.

¹⁰ Atticus had applied to Cæsar to spare the estates of the people about Buthrotum, which were threatened with confiscation for their attachment to Pompeius.

¹¹ See Letter I.

you, should be glad if you would inquire about it from himself. But why should I delay to inform you? I explained to him that by my desire you had applied to him to know whether there was any thing that he wished, or wanted; and that you had acquainted me with his wish of going to Spain,¹ and his want of a liberal allowance. With respect to his allowance, I told him I would do as much as Publius, or the flamen Lentulus had done for their sons. Respecting Spain, I mentioned two objections; one, the same that occurred to you, that I was fearful of incurring reproach. Was it not enough to have relinquished our arms in support of the Pompeian party? Must we also take arms against it? The other objection was, that he would be mortified by seeing his cousin admitted to greater familiarity and favor. I would rather he should enjoy my liberality, than his own liberty. Yet I gave my consent: for I understood that you did not greatly object to it. I must think about it again and again, and I beg you to do the same. It is a great thing, and one that involves no difficulty, to remain quiet: the other is very doubtful. But we will consider of it. About Balbus I had made a memorandum, and think of doing so, as you advise, as soon as he comes back. But if

¹ To join Cæsar's army against Pompeius's sons.

his coming is delayed, I shall at all events wait three days. I omitted to mention also that Dolabella is with me.

LETTER VIII.

MANY persons approve of this measure respecting Cicero.¹ He² is a very proper companion. But we must previously see about this first payment:³ for the day approaches, and he⁴ travels quickly. Pray write to inform me what news Celer brings of Cæsar's transactions with the candidates; whether he intends to go himself into the Campus Fænicularius,⁵ or into the

¹ Cicero the son. It probably relates to his going to Athens to complete his studies, instead of joining Cæsar's army, which seems to have been returning from Spain.

² It appears elsewhere that the son was accompanied to Athens by L. Montanus, who is probably therefore the person here intended. See Letter LII.

³ It is uncertain to what this alludes.

⁴ It is probable that this may mean Cæsar, on his return from the Spanish war.

⁵ This may perhaps mean, whether Cæsar will appoint the Magistrates "in a field of fennel," that is, in Spain; or suffer them to be regularly elected in the "field of Mars," or Campus Martius at Rome; for both Plinius and Dioscorides take notice of Fennel (*μαραθρον*, *fæniculum*) being particularly cultivated in Spain; and Strabo mentions a place in Spain called "the Fennel plain," from this circumstance.

Campus Martius. And I should like to know whether it is necessary to be at Rome at the Comitia: for I must needs satisfy both Pilia,⁶ and especially Attica.

LETTER IX.

I ASSURE you I am very well pleased with being here,¹ and that, more and more every day, but for the reason,² which I mentioned in a former letter. Nothing can be pleasanter than this retreat, if it were not a little interrupted by the son of Amyntas.³ What a tiresome loquacity! You can imagine nothing more delightful than the house, the coast, the

⁶ Celer, who was a candidate probably for the Prætorship, is supposed to have been a relation of Pilia's, perhaps her brother, whom Cicero would not fail to support if there should be a free election. For Attica he often playfully professes his affection.

¹ Probably at Astura. See Letter XIX.

² Perhaps the absence of Atticus. See Letter XVI. which may not improbably be the letter alluded to; the order of these short letters (many of them little more than notes, and without a date) having been apparently deranged in many instances. It would be a laborious, and fruitless task to endeavour to rectify it.

³ Philippus, so called from Philippus, King of Macedonia, who was the son of Amyntas. He is mentioned again, Letter XVI. and XVIII.

view of the sea, and, in short, the whole together. But even this does not require a long letter, and I have nothing particular to tell you, and am very sleepy.

LETTER X.

THIS is sad indeed about Athamas.¹ Your concern is natural, but ought to be moderated. There are many ways of consolation; of which the properest is, to let reason do that, which time will do. But let us take care of Alexis,² that counter part of Tiro, whom I have sent back sick to Rome; and if there is any epidemical sickness on the Quirinal hill,³ let us transfer him with Tisamenus⁴ to my house. All the upper part of the house is unoccupied, as you know. I think this is worth considering.

¹ A slave of Atticus's who was just dead.

² Another slave, and amanuensis.

³ The district of Rome where Atticus lived.

⁴ A third slave of Atticus, who might wait upon Alexis; or who might himself be ill.

LETTER XI.

I AM sorry for poor Sejus : but whatever happens in the course of nature must be born with patience. For indeed what are we ? Or how long are we likely to regard these things ? Let us consider what more nearly concerns ourselves, (yet not much either), what I should do about the Senate.¹ Not to omit any thing, Cæsonius has written to me to say that Posthumia, Sulpicius's wife, is come to his house. I have already told you that I have no thoughts at present of Pompeius Magnus's daughter.² The other, whom you mention, I believe you know. I never saw any thing more disgusting. But I shall presently see you : therefore when we meet. After I had sealed my letter, I received yours. I hear with pleasure of Attica's cheerfulness, yet partake of your anxiety.

¹ To avoid either offending Cæsar, or acting in a manner unbecoming his former character and connexions.

² Previous to this time Cicero had divorced his wife Terentia, and was thinking of marrying again, which he soon after did

LETTER XII.

ON the subject of the dower¹ I want you so much the more to clear me from all imputation. Balbus's delegation of his authority is quite royal.² Make an end by any means. It is discreditable for the business to lie in this state of suspense. The isle of Arpinas³ may be very proper for the deification,⁴ but I fear it will not be thought to confer the same degree of honor.⁵ It lies out of the way. My

¹ It seems to me most probable that this may relate to the re-payment of Terentia's dower upon her divorce.

² It is quite uncertain to what this alludes; most probably to some debt due from Cicero, the care of which Balbus had delegated to some third person. It may be that the discharge of this prevented the immediate payment of the dower.

³ Arpinas was a place inland, but surrounded by a division and re-union of the river Fibrenus before it falls into the Liris. *De Legibus* 2, 3.

⁴ This must allude to his design of deifying his daughter Tullia, who had lately died, though nothing has yet been said of that event. It is probable that the letter may have been misplaced. See *Letter xviii.*

⁵ Arpinas, though in many respects very proper for the erection of a temple consecrated to his daughter; yet lay too much out of common observation to do her the honor he desired.

wish therefore is in the gardens;⁶ which I will however examine on my arrival. About Epicurus⁷ it shall be as you please; though I incline to this latter kind of persons.⁸ It is incredible how eagerly some people desire the other. To the ancients therefore; for this is free from invidiousness.⁹ I have nothing to tell you: but I have determined nevertheless to write every day for the sake of eliciting your answers; not that I expect any thing from them; but yet I somehow do expect. Therefore whether you have any thing to say, or nothing, yet write something; and take care of yourself.

⁶ The gardens in the vicinity of Rome.

⁷ Cicero has been shewn before to be at this time engaged in his book *De Finibus*, in which he discusses in a Dialogue the opinions of different Philosophers respecting the constitution of Moral virtue; and seems to have consulted Atticus upon the person whom he should introduce to support Epicurus's doctrine.

⁸ By "this latter kind" I conceive to be meant not "more recent;" but on the contrary, those who had been sometime dead, but whom he had eventually named last among different descriptions of persons.

⁹ By introducing only ancient characters he would occasion no ill will.

LETTER XIII.

I AM not easy about Attica, though I rely upon Craterus's¹ opinion. Brutus's letter is sensible and friendly,² but made me shed many tears. This retreat is less worrying to me, than that concourse of people. I want nobody but you. However, I occupy myself in study with the same ease as if I was at home.³ Yet the same violence of grief presses and hangs upon me; not that I indulge it, but still I do not resist it. Respecting what you mention of Appuleius,⁴ I apprehend there is no occasion for any exertion on your part, or on that of Balbus and Oppius, to whom he pledged himself, and desired I might be informed that he would not give me any trouble. Nevertheless get me excused from day to day on account of my health. Lænas had promised to do this.

¹ Craterus was a physician of eminence at Rome.

² A letter of condolence on the death of Tullia.

³ Among his books, in his usual residence at Rome. See Letter XLII.

⁴ This Appuleius appears to have been lately incorporated into the College of Augurs, on which occasion several festivals were held, from which Cicero desired to be excused.

Engage⁵ C. Septimius and L. Statilius. In short, nobody, that you ask, will refuse to swear. But if there is any difficulty, I will go up myself, and will swear to a continual sickness. For as I must absent myself from these meetings, I would rather it should appear to be done by law, than by grief. I should be glad if you would call upon Cocceius; for he does not perform what he promised. I wish to buy some place to hide and shelter my affliction.

LETTER XIV.

I WROTE to you yesterday about excusing me to Appuleius. I imagine there is no difficulty. Whomsoever you call upon, nobody will refuse. But speak to Septimius, and Lænas, and Statilius; for there must be three. Lænas promised me to manage the whole. As to what you mention of being called upon by Junius;¹ assuredly Cornificius is a rich man: however,

⁵ It seems to have been necessary for three of the College to attest the incapacity of one from attending; he therefore desires Atticus to apply to C. Septimius and L. Statilius, in addition to Lænas. See Letter xiv.

¹ This Junius seems to have called upon Atticus, as Cicero's friend, about some money due from Cornificius, for whom Cicero had been surety.

I should like to know when it is, that I am said to have been bound; and whether for the father, or for the son. Nevertheless, as you say, see Cornificius's agents, and the surveyor² Appuleius. In wishing me to be restored from my affliction, you act, as you always do; but you are witness that I have not been wanting to myself. For there is nothing written by any body on the lessening of affliction, which I have not read at your house. But my grief overcomes all consolation. I have even done, what nobody ever did before me, written for my own consolation. I will send the book to you, if the clerks have transcribed it. I assure you, no comfort is equal to it. I write all day long; not that I expect any good from it; but for the time I am pre-occupied; not effectually indeed, for the violence of my grief presses me; but yet I am soothed; and I strive by all means to compose not my mind only, but, if possible, my very countenance. In doing which I sometimes think I am doing wrong, sometimes I think I should do wrong if I omitted it. There is some relief in retirement: but it would be much better, if you were here. This is the only reason of my removal. For, in regard to my distress it suits well. Yet this also is a source of regret; that

² This is evidently a different person from that Appuleius mentioned in the beginning of the letter.

you can no longer entertain the same regard for me; those qualifications, in which you used to take pleasure, are gone. I wrote to you before about Brutus's letter to me. It was sensibly written, but afforded me no comfort. What he wrote to you of his coming hither; that I should like; for such appears to be his affection, that it could not fail of doing me some good. If you have any intelligence, I hope you will write to me, especially to inform me when Pansa³ sets out. I am concerned about Attica, yet I rely upon Craterus. Do not let Pilia despond. Your own accustomed anxiety is enough for every body.

LETTER XV.

As it is not thought right to make a general excuse to Appuleius, you will take care that it is renewed from day to day. In this solitude I have no intercourse with any body; but penetrate in the morning into a thick rough wood, from whence I do not go out before evening. Next to you, nothing is more pleasing to me than solitude. There all my conversation is with books. Even this is interrupted by tears, which I resist as much as I can; but

³ He had been appointed to succeed Brutus in the government of Cisalpine Gaul.

hitherto I am unequal to it. I will write an answer to Brutus, as you advise. You shall have the letter to-morrow, and will forward it when you have an opportunity.

LETTER XVI.

I WOULD not have you neglect your own concerns to come to me. I will rather go to some place nearer, if you should be prevented much longer. Though indeed I should not have removed out of your sight, unless I had found that nothing was of any use to me; yet if there was any alleviation, it was only in you; and as soon as there can be from any thing, it will be from you. Now however I cannot bear the very circumstances of being without you: but I do not approve of staying in your house; nor can I stay in my own; nor if I were any where near; should I still be with you; for the same cause would prevent your being with me, which prevents you now. As yet nothing has been more agreeable to me than this solitude, which I wish Philippus may not destroy;¹ for he arrived yesterday evening. Writing and study do not assuage my grief, but they interrupt it.

¹ See Letter ix.

LETTER XVII.

MARCIANUS has informed me that my excuse has been made to Appuleius by Laterensis, Naso, Lænas, Torquatus, and Strabo. I should be glad if you would get letters written to them expressive of my thankfulness. As to what Flavius says of my having been surety for Cornificius more than five and twenty years ago ; though the defaulter is rich, and Appuleius is a liberal appraiser, yet I should be glad if you would find out from the books of the joint securities, whether it is really so. For previously to my being Ædile I had no intercourse with Cornificius. I do not however mean to deny it ; but I should like to know the truth. You may also call upon the agents, if you think proper. Though what does it signify to me ? Nevertheless¹—You will inform me of Pansa's departure, when you know it. Give my love to Attica, and pray take good care of her. My respects to Pilia.

¹ The sense of his present affliction makes him indifferent to such matters ; nevertheless he would do what is right.

LETTER XVIII.

WHILST I avoid all recollections which by a certain sting exasperate my pain, I refrain from advising with you; but trust you will excuse me in this matter, whether I am doing right or wrong. For some of those authors, which I now chiefly read, say, that it is a duty to do, what I have frequently mentioned to you, and what I would fain have you approve. I speak of the temple;¹ which I request you to consider in proportion to the affection you bear me. I have no hesitation about the kind of building, being satisfied with Cluatius's design; nor about the thing itself, which is determined; but I sometimes doubt about the situation. I wish therefore that you would think about it. Yes, I will consecrate her, as much as can be done in these learned times, with monuments of every kind, drawn from the wits of all writers, both Greek and Latin. This may perhaps renew my wound; but I consider myself bound as it were by a vow and promise; and that long space of time, when I shall cease to be, influences me more than this short period, which however seems to me too

¹ Which he intended to erect and consecrate to his daughter.

long. For, after trying every thing, I find nothing in which I can acquiesce.² While I was engaged in that treatise, about which I wrote to you before, I was, as it were, cherishing my sufferings. Now I reject every thing, and find nothing better than solitude; which Philippus has not interrupted, as I apprehended. For after paying his compliments to me yesterday, he immediately set off for Rome. I have sent you the letter, which I wrote to Brutus at your recommendation. You will take care to have it transmitted along with yours. I have however sent a copy of it to you, that, if you do not approve of it, you may not send it. When you say that my domestic concerns are regularly administered; I should like to know what you allude to. There are some things about which I am solicitous. See that Cocceius does not fail me. For what Libo promises, as Eros writes me word, I consider as certain. Respecting my principal, I trust to Sulpicius and to Egnatius. Why should you trouble yourself about Appuleius, when the excuse is so easy? Consider how difficult it is for you to come to me, as you propose. For it is a long journey; and I cannot take leave of you without great pain at your de-

² In these few words how strongly is expressed the want of that solid consolation, which is only to be found in the Gospel.

parture, which it may perhaps be necessary for you to make speedily. But all as you please. For, whatever you do, I shall think to be done for the best, and done for my sake. Having learned yesterday from other letters the circumstance of Antonius's approach, I was surprized there should be nothing said about it in yours. But it may possibly have been written the day before it was sent. Not that I care about such matters. But I suppose he is come up about his sureties. As to what you mention of Terentia's speaking about the witnesses to my Will; in the first place, be assured that I care nothing about it, nor have I room to admit any trifling or new concern.³ But what resemblance is there between the two cases? She would not employ those, who she thought would inquire, unless they knew what it contained. Was there any danger of that in my case? However, let her do, as I do. I will give my Will to be read by whom she pleases: he will find that I could not have behaved more honorably towards my grandchild, than I have done. For as to not calling upon her to attest it; in the first place, it never entered into my mind; next, it did not for that reason, because it was of no consequence. Yourself know (if only you recollect) that I de-

³ So filled was he with concern for his daughter, and perhaps for the Republic.

sired you at the time to bring some of your people. For what need was there of many? Indeed I meant your attendants: upon which you suggested that I should send to Silius: whence it arose that I sent to Publilius:⁴ but neither was necessary. You will manage this, as you think best.

LETTER XIX.

THIS place¹ is indeed pleasant, and open to the sea, and capable of being seen both from Antium and from Circæi; but we must consider how, amongst all the change of possessors, who may be innumerable in an endless posterity (if only this state of things should last), that which is consecrated may still subsist. I have now no need of revenue, and can be content with a little. I sometimes think of getting some of the gardens on the other side of the Tiber, for this reason, that I know nothing which would be so much frequented. Which of them it should be, we will consider when we meet; but the temple must be finished this

⁴ This, being probably a relation of that Publilia, whom he had lately taken to his second Wife, may have excited the greater suspicion and indignation in Terentia.

¹ Astura.

summer. At all events settle with Apella the Chian about the pillars. I approve of what you mentioned about Cocceius and Libo; and especially about my judgeship.² Respecting the bond,³ you will let me hear when you have discovered any thing; yet I should like to know what Cornificius's agents say, but would not have you give yourself much trouble about it while you are so engaged. Respecting Antonius, Balbus also wrote to me in a joint letter with Oppius, and with your concurrence, that I need not be disturbed. I returned my thanks to them: but, as I have before told you, I would have you understand that I neither was disturbed at that news; nor shall I now be disturbed at any thing. If Pansa has set out to day, as you supposed, henceforward begin to inform me what you expect about Brutus's arrival; that is, on what day. If you know where he now is, you will easily be able to form a conjecture. Concerning what you mention to Tiro about Terentia, I entreat you, my Atticus, to undertake the whole business. You perceive that some duty on my part is implicated, upon which you are fully informed;

² It is uncertain to what this alludes; perhaps some occasion of Cicero's acting as a judge, from which Atticus may have got him excused.

³ See Letters xvii. and xviii.

and some suppose young Cicero's fortune to be concerned. The former consideration weighs far the most with me, as being more sacred and important; especially as I conceive this latter to be neither well founded, nor settled.

LETTER XX.

You seem not yet entirely to understand how indifferent I am about the arrival of Antonius, and about every thing of the kind. On the subject of Terentia I wrote to you in the letter I sent yesterday. When you exhort me, and say that others expected it of me likewise, that I should dissemble the excess of my affliction; can I do more than spend whole days in study? Though I do it, not for the sake of dissembling; but rather of soothing and healing my mind: and if I do not reap adequate advantage, surely I do enough for appearance. I write the less to you, because I am expecting your reply to my letter of yesterday. I am expecting particularly to hear about the temple; and something also about Terentia. I wish you would inform me in your next letter, whether Cn. Cæpio, the father of that Servilia who married Claudius, perished by shipwreck in the life time of

his father, or after his death ; likewise whether Rutilia died before, or after her son C. Cotta. They relate to the book I have been writing on the moderation of grief.

LETTER XXI.

I HAVE read Brutus's letter,¹ and return it to you. To say the truth, it is not a very civil answer to your questions. But this is his affair. Though one thing shews a shameful ignorance ; for he supposes that Cato was the first to propose the sentence of death on the Catilinarian conspirators ; whereas every body had proposed it before, except Cæsar. And because the sentence of Cæsar himself, then speaking in the place of Prætor, was so severe, he supposes those of the Consular senators to have been more lenient ; that is, of Catulus, Servilius, the Luculli, Curio, Torquatus, Lepidus, Gellius, Volcatius, Figulus, Cotta, L. Cæsar, C. Piso, and M.' Glabrio, with Silanus and Murena the Consuls elect. Why then was the decree made according to the opinion of Cato ?

¹ Brutus might probably have drawn up some account of Cato, which he had submitted to Atticus, and upon which Atticus had made observations, and proposed certain questions.

Because he had said the same thing in more brilliant and copious terms. Me he commends for having brought the affair before the Senate, not for having discovered it; for giving encouragement, and for having formed my judgment before I consulted them. It was because Cato had extolled all this to the skies, and had proposed its being entered in the decree, that the vote was carried in favor of his opinion. Brutus seems to think he has done much for me by calling me the excellent Consul. What enemy ever spoke in more meagre terms? And how does he reply to your other observations? He only desires you to set him right about the decree of the Senate. He would have done as much if he had been told of it by Ranius. But this again is his own affair. Respecting the gardens,² since you approve of it, get something done. You know the state of my affairs. If, besides, any thing is received from Faberius, there is no difficulty. But, even without that, I think I am able to manage it. Those of Drusa are certainly to be sold; possibly also those of Lamia and Cassius: but of this when we meet. I cannot write more properly about Terentia, than you do. Let my duty be the first thing to be considered. If any thing should go amiss, I would

² Where Cicero thought of erecting a temple to his daughter. (See Letter XIX.)

rather the fault should lie with her, than with myself. An hundred Sestertia (£800.) must be procured for Ovia the wife of C. Lollius. Eros says he cannot do it without me; I suppose, because some valuation³ is to be accepted and assigned. I wish he had mentioned it to you. For if the business, as he tells me, is ready, and he does not deceive me in this, it might be completed through you. I should be glad if you would enquire into this, and settle it. When you call upon me to attend the business of the forum, you call upon me to do that, which, even in happier circumstances, I avoided. For what have I to do with the forum, without legal trials, without a Senate, and meeting those whom I cannot look upon with patience? As to what you say of people's requiring of me that I should be at Rome, and not suffering me to absent myself, or suffering it only to a certain extent; know that I have long since esteemed you, more than all those together; and that I have some regard for myself too, and would much sooner abide by my own judgment, than that of all the rest. Yet I do not go further⁴ than

³ In order to facilitate the arrangements between debtors and their creditors, Cæsar had got a law passed to admit the estimation of property agreeably to its value before the civil war broke out.

⁴ In the indulgence of his grief.

the wisest men allow ; all of whose writings, so far as they relate to that subject, I have not only read ; which is itself a mark of some courage, for a sick man to admit of his remedy ; but have even transferred into my own compositions ; which is certainly no sign of a dejected and broken spirit. From such remedies do not endeavour to recall me into that throng, lest I relapse.

LETTER XXII.

IN throwing upon me all the burden of Terentia's business,¹ you do not act with your usual indulgence towards me ; for these wounds are such as I cannot touch without the greatest pain. Sooth them therefore, I beseech you, as you can. For I ask nothing more of you, than you can accomplish ; and you alone can find out what the truth is about Rutilia.² As you seem to doubt, you will write to me when you know, and as soon as you can ; also whether Clodia was living after the death of the Consular D. Brutus her son. This may be ascertained from Marcellus, or at least from

¹ It is uncertain to what this relates.

² See Letter xx.

Posthumia ; the other from M. Cotta, or Scyrus, or Satyrus. I entreat you again and again on the subject of the gardens. I must strive with all my own means, and those of my friends, who I am persuaded will not desert me ; but I shall be able to do it by myself. And I have some property also, which I can easily sell. But without selling, by mortgaging the land for one year to the vendor, I can manage it, if you assist me. Those of Drusus are quite ready ; for he is wanting to dispose of them. The next, I think, are Lamia's ; but he is absent. However, if you can, find out something about them. Silius also makes no use of his, and will easily be satisfied with that interest. You have³ your instructions. Consider, not what the present state of my affairs requires, which I regard not ; but what is the object of my wishes, and what is the occasion of them.

³ Notwithstanding my objections to admit conjectural emendations of the text, I have supposed this ought to be *habes*, which is quite agreeable to Cicero's manner of writing ; while the common reading of *habe* is both harsh, and scarcely intelligible. See Book vi. Letter 1. and Book xvi. Letters vii. and xvi.

LETTER XXIII.

By the beginning of your letter I thought you were going to send me some news; for you say, that although I did not care about what was doing in Spain, yet you would write. But in truth you only replied to my letter,¹ as regarded the forum, and the Senate. But my house is, you say, the forum.² What is my house itself to me without the forum? All is over, all is over, Atticus; I have long seen it, but now I acknowledge it, since I have lost the only tie³ by which I was held. Therefore I seek retirement. And yet if any thing should bring me thither, I will endeavour if possible (and it will be possible) to let nobody, besides myself, be sensible of my affliction; not even you, if by any means this be practicable. And in truth this is the reason of my not going up. You remember what Aledius⁴ asked of you. Even now they⁵ teaze me: what would be the case, if I should go thither? Attend to the affair of Terentia, as you mention, and save

¹ Letter xxi.

² It is probable that Cæsar wished through his friends to bring back Cicero to Rome, in order by his presence to give authority to Cæsar's acts.

³ Tullia.

⁴ See Letter iv. n. 4.

⁵ Cæsar's friends.

me from this great addition to my great calamities. That you may know I am not so overwhelmed with grief, as to be quite sunk; your Annals mention the year in which Carneades with the other deputies arrived in Rome; now I want to know, what was the occasion of it; I imagine it was on the business of Oropus,⁶ but am not certain; and if it is so, what debates were held about it; besides, what distinguished Epicurean there was at that time, who presided in the gardens;⁷ and what illustrious statesmen were then at Athens;⁸ which I apprehend you can find out from Apollodorus's book. I am sorry about Attica; yet as her illness is slight, I trust that all is going well. I had no doubt about Gamala:⁹

⁶ The Athenians had been accused to the Senate of plundering Oropus, and had been condemned in a heavy fine; in mitigation of which they deputed Carneades, Diogenes, and Critolaus, three philosophers of different schools, to plead their cause. A. Gell. 7, 14.

⁷ The schools of Epicurus at Athens were held in gardens.

⁸ All these inquiries shew that Cicero was at this time not so overwhelmed with grief, but that he could apply himself to the composition of some philosophical treatise, to which they relate.

⁹ Perhaps Gamala, son to Ligus, had lately died; and his own affliction taught him to expect that Ligus would suffer the common calamities of humanity, and by such a loss would be unable to enjoy his otherwise happy circumstances.

for whence should his father Ligus be so fortunate? Not to speak of myself; who am incapable of relief, though every thing should happen as I wish. I heard the same valuation of Drusus's gardens, which you mention, and I believe I stated it in my letter to you yesterday. But whatever be the price, that is well bought, which must needs be had. To me, whatever you may think, (for I know what I think myself) it is some discharge, if not of my grief, at least of my bounden¹⁰ duty. I have written to Sica in consequence of his acquaintance with L. Cotta. If nothing should be settled about these gardens across the Tiber, Cotta has some property near Ostia in a very public part, though it is but a little place. For this purpose however it is abundantly sufficient. I wish you would think of this; but do not be alarmed at the price of the gardens. I have now no want of money, or of clothes, or of any places of pleasure: this is what I want. I see too from whom¹¹ I can get assistance. But speak with Silius; for there is nothing better. I have also given instructions to Sica, who sends me word that he has made some appointment with him. Let him therefore write to inform me what he

¹⁰ See Letter xviii.

¹¹ It is most probable that Atticus might have offered to assist him.

has done; and let it be¹² as you shall think proper.

LETTER XXIV.

I AM glad that A. Silius has settled his business; for I did not care to refuse him, yet doubted how far it was in my power to serve him. Make an end of Ovia's affair, as you propose. It seems now to be time to make some arrangement about Cicero.¹ But I wish to know whether the money, that he will want at Athens, can be obtained by letters of exchange, or must be carried with him; and should be glad if you would take the whole affair into consideration, respecting both the manner, and time. You will be able to learn from Aledius, whether Publius is going into Africa, and when. I wish you would inquire, and let me know. And, to return to my own trifles, I want you to inform me whether P. Crassus, the son of Venuleia, died in the life time of his father the Consular P. Crassus, as I think he did, or afterwards. Likewise if my memory is correct about Regillus, the son of Lepidus, that he

¹² So I understand this imperfect sentence.

¹ About sending the young Cicero to complete his studies at Athens. See Letter VIII. n. 1.

died before his father. You will dispatch these affairs of Cispius, and of Præcius. All seems to go on most favorably with Attica. Make my compliments to her, and to Pilia.

LETTER XXV.

SICA has written to me all the particulars about Silius, and mentioned his having laid the circumstances before you, as you also acknowledge. I am pleased with the thing itself, and with the terms; but should prefer paying in money, rather than by a valuation;¹ for Silius will not want an estate for pleasure. But though I can be content with my present income, I can scarcely do with less. Whence then am I to find the money? You will get 600 Sestertia (£4800.) from Hermogenes, especially as it is a case of necessity: and I find that I have as much in the house. For the rest I can pay interest to Silius, till I discharge it by means of Faberius, or somebody who is indebted to him. There will be something also from other quarters. But you will manage the whole business for me. In truth I greatly prefer these gardens to those of Drusus; nor are they to be compared together. Believe

¹ See Letter XXI. n. 3.

me, I am influenced but by one motive, upon which I know that I am wild. Yet humour this my folly, as you do. For as to what you say of the "repose of old age;"² that consideration is at an end; I am in pursuit of other things.

LETTER XXVI.

SICA writes me word, that even if he should not come to any agreement with A. Silius, yet he will come here on the 23d. I readily forgive your occupations, with which I am well acquainted; and doubt not of your disposition, or rather your wish and earnest desire that we may be together. With respect to Nicias, if I were in a state to enjoy his kindness, I should be particularly glad to have him with me; but to me solitude and retirement is a province.¹ Because Sica was contented to bear this, I am the more desirous of seeing him. Besides, you know the weakness and delicacy of our friend Nicias, and his habits in regard to food. Why

² In the original is a Greek word signifying the "con-summation, repose, or proper occupation of old age." The same expression is repeated in Letters xxix. and xliv.

¹ To which I go with as much delight, as another man takes possession of a government.

then should I be a trouble to him, while he can be no pleasure to me? Nevertheless his good will is gratifying to me. One subject² you mention to me, upon which I am resolved to say nothing in return; for I hope I have prevailed with you to save me from that trouble. My compliments to Pilia, and to Attica.

LETTER XXVII.

RESPECTING the Silian affair, though the conditions are not unknown to me, yet I expect to hear all about it to day from Sica. Cotta's villa, which you say you do not know, is beyond Silius's, with which I think you are acquainted; it is a poor place, and very small. It has no land about it; no space for any other purpose, though enough for what I want. I look for notoriety. But if we come to an agreement about Silius's gardens, that is, if you agree (for it rests entirely with you) we need think no more about Cotta. With regard to Cicero, I will do as you mention, and shall leave it to him to fix the time. You will get exchanged what money is necessary. If you find out any thing from Aledius, you will, as you mention, write me word. I perceive from

² The subject of Terentia. See Letter xviii. and xxiii.

your letters, as you must also from mine, that we have nothing new to say. The same subjects recur every day, and are long since worn out: yet can I not refrain from writing daily, that I may hear from you in return. Upon the subject of Brutus however, you may have some intelligence; for I imagine you know by this time where he means to wait for Pansa. If, as is usual, in the nearest part of the province, he will be likely to arrive about the beginning of next month. I should be glad if it were later; as I have many reasons for avoiding Rome; so that I even doubt if I should not offer him some excuse, which I see would be very easy. But there is time enough to think of it. My compliments to Pilia and Attica.

LETTER XXVIII.

I HAVE learnt no more about Silius from my own conversation with Sica, than from his letter; for he wrote very accurately. If therefore any thing occurs to you in the communication you may have with him, you will let me know it. Upon the subject,¹ about which you suppose some notice has been sent to me; whether it has been sent, or not, I cannot tell; certainly

¹ Cicero's Will. See Letter XVIII.

nothing has reached me. Do you therefore proceed, as you have begun; and if you can so settle it (which, to say the truth, I do not expect) as to get her² approbation, you may, if you please, make use of Cicero. It may be of some consequence to him,³ that he should appear to have wished it for her sake: to me it signifies nothing, excepting so far as you know,⁴ which I greatly regard. When you recall me to my usual habits, I must say that I have long since mourned for the Republic, though I did it more gently; for I had something on which my mind could repose. Now I am quite incapable of maintaining the same intercourse and way of life. Nor in this do I think that I need trouble myself with the opinions of other people: my own inward sense is of more weight with me, than the talk of the world. While I have been consoling myself in study, I have no reason to be dissatisfied with the advantage I have gained. I have lessened my repining; my sorrow I neither could; nor, if I could, should I wish it. You rightly interpret my wishes respecting Triarius. But do nothing without their approbation. I love him even in his death; I am the guardian of his children,

² Terentia's.

³ That so Terentia might consider him in her Will.
See Letter XIX.

⁴ So far as his duty is concerned. See Letter XIX.

and bear affection towards the whole family. With regard to the Castrician business, if Castricius wishes to receive a price for his slaves, and will consent to its being paid, in the manner that payments are now made,⁵ certainly nothing is more convenient. But if he is determined to take away the slaves themselves, it does not appear to me to be equitable; since you desire me to tell you what I think. I should be sorry that my brother Quintus should have any trouble about it. And I think I understand that you are of the same opinion.⁶ If Publius waits for the equinox, as you say Aledius told you, I suppose he will soon sail.⁷ He told me he should go by way of Sicily. Whether he does go, and when, I should like to know. And I wish, at some time when it is convenient to you, that you would visit the little Lentulus,⁸ and send him such of my slaves, as you think proper. Compliments to Pilia and Attica.

⁵ By the appraisement of property. See Letter *xxi.* n. 3.

⁶ Namely, that it is not equitable to take away the slaves from Quintus, who seems to have agreed with Castricius about a price for them, but could not immediately procure the money.

⁷ To Africa. See Letter *xxiv.*

⁸ The son of Tullia and of Cornelius Lentulus Dolabella.

LETTER XXIX.

SILIUS, you say, is to be with you to day. To-morrow therefore, or rather when you can, you will let me know if you have any thing to tell me after having seen him. I do not wish to avoid Brutus, yet I do not expect to derive from him any consolation. But there are reasons why I should not like to be at Rome at this time; if these continue, I must devise some excuse to Brutus; and, as things now are, they seem likely to continue. Pray bring this business of the gardens to some conclusion. The chief object is what you know. Another consideration is, that I want something for myself. For I can neither bear to live in the world, nor to be at a distance from you. For this my design I find nothing more suitable than that place. Upon this subject I am persuaded of your concurrence; and the more so, because I think (and I understand you are of the same opinion) that I am regarded with great affection by Oppius and Balbus. I would have you communicate to them how earnestly, and why I wish for these gardens; but that it can only be done, when that Faberian business is settled. Find out

therefore whether they will sanction it;¹ or how far they can be induced, if I forego part of my claim upon early payment; for I despair of getting the whole. In short you will discover if they are disposed to give me any assistance towards this design. If they will, it is a great point gained; if not, let us strive by any means to accomplish it. Consider it as that ancient "repose of old age," as you expressed it, or as my tomb. Nothing more is to be thought of that place at Ostia. If I cannot get this, I must try about Damasippus's. Lamia's I conceive to be unattainable.

LETTER XXX.

I THINK what I shall say to you; but there is really nothing. The same day after day. I am much obliged to you for going to see Lentulus. Let him have what servants, and what number you think right. Respecting Silius's inclination to sell, and respecting the price; you seem to apprehend, in the first place, that

¹ Whether Oppius and Balbus, who were concerned jointly with Faberius in conducting Cæsar's affairs, would undertake to promote the payment to Cicero, especially if he consented to relinquish part of his claim on prompt payment of the remainder. See Letter XLVII.

he may not choose it; and in the next place, that he may not accede to the terms. Sica is of a different opinion; but I agree with you. However, I have written to Egnatius, as he wished. I have no objection to your speaking with Clodius according to Silius's desire; and this is better, than that I should write to Clodius, as he asked me to do. With regard to Castrius's slaves,¹ I think it best that Egnatius² should manage it; as you mention that you suppose will be done. Pray see that the account is settled with Ovia.³ Since you say that it was night⁴ when you wrote, I shall expect something more in to-day's letter.

LETTER XXXI.

SICA will be surprized at Silius's having changed his mind. For my part, I am more surprized at your saying, that if I should propose to take something else, which he will not hear of, you think he may be induced to sell, as he had himself determined. For he imputes to his

¹ Letter xxviii.

² Egnatius was a banker employed by both Marcus and Quintus Cicero. In this transaction the latter was concerned.

³ Letter xxi.

⁴ It is to be supposed that Atticus had alleged this as a reason for abruptly concluding his letter.

son the cause of his refusal; which seems to me not unreasonable, considering that his son is every thing he could wish. You ask me what is the highest price I would give; and how much I prefer these gardens to those of Drusus. I have never been there. The Coponian¹ villa I know to be old, and not large, and that it has a noble wood. But I know the produce of neither; which however I think it would be prudent to ascertain: though either of them are valuable to me from my particular circumstances, not from the computation of their real worth. But I would have you consider whether it is in my power to purchase them. If I could sell the Faberian property, I should not hesitate to conclude even on prompt payment for Silius's, if only he can be induced to sell. If he refuses to sell, I would apply to Drusus on the terms, which Egnatius told you he demanded. Hermogenes² may also be a great assistance to me in making a prompt payment. Do you only admit of my being in the disposition of one who is desirous of purchasing: yet while I am a slave to my wishes and my grief, I am willing to be directed by you. I have received a letter from Egnatius.³

¹ Supposed to be the same as Drusus's.

² A debtor of Cicero's. See Letter xxv.

³ This letter probably respected the sale of Drusus's place. But it may be observed that Egnatius, as Cicero's

should he have any conversation with you, you will let me know; for it will be most convenient to negotiate through him; and this I think should be done, for I do not see how it is possible to come to any conclusion with Silius. Compliments to Pilia and Attica. I have written this with my own hand. Pray think what is to be done.

LETTER XXXII.

PUBLILIA¹ has written to me to say that her mother, in a conversation with Publilius,² agreed to come with him to visit me; and she adds, that if I would permit her, she would come at the same time. She uses many entreaties for this purpose, and begs me to write in answer. You see how embarrassing this is. I replied that I was even more afflicted, than when I had told her I wished to be alone; and therefore was not disposed to let her come to me at this time. I thought, if I made no reply, that she would come with her mother. Now I do

agent, had some concern with Silius likewise, and with Castricius, as appears by the preceding letters; though the latter was on Quintus's account.

¹ Cicero after being divorced from Terentia, had married Publilia.

² Brother to Publilia.

not think she will : for it was evident that the letter was not her own. But I wish to avoid altogether, what I see will happen, that they should come to me. There is only one way of avoiding it ;³ which I do not like ; but it is necessary. I now therefore beg you to find out how long I may remain here, without being molested. You will manage this, as you mention, with prudence. I wish you would propose to Cicero, provided it appears to you reasonable, that he should accommodate the expences of this foreign residence to the rents arising from Argiletus and Aventinus,⁴ which would easily have satisfied him, if he had been at Rome, and hired a house, as he thought of doing. And when you have made this proposal to him, I should be glad if you would arrange the rest in such a manner, that I may out of those rents supply him with what is necessary. I will engage that the expences of neither Bibulus, nor Acidinus, nor Messalla, who I hear are to be at Athens, will exceed the receipts from those rents. I wish you therefore first to see who are the people to hire them, and at what rate ; then, that there may be somebody⁵ who will pay to the day ; likewise what provision, and equipage, is wanted

³ By going himself to see them.

⁴ Argiletus and Aventinus were districts of Rome.

⁵ Somebody to collect the rents and pay them regularly.

by the way. At Athens there can certainly be no occasion for horses; and I have at home more than can be wanted for his use on the road; as you also observe.

LETTER XXXIII.

I SHOULD like, as I told you in my letter yesterday, if Silius prove such as you suppose, and Drusus be unaccommodating, that you should make overtures to Damasippus. He has, I think, allotted portions on the shore, of I know not how many acres, at a fixed price, with which I am not acquainted. Whatever arrangements you make, you will let me know. I am very anxious about my little Attica's health; and should even fear there was some mismanagement; but that the integrity of the tutor, and attention of the physician, and the regularity of the whole family in every way, forbids me to entertain such a suspicion. Take care then. I can say no more.

LETTER XXXIV.

HERE I could remain contentedly for one in trouble, even without Sica; for Tiro is better. But since you say that I must take care I am not

molested (by which I understand that you are unacquainted with the certain day of their journey¹) I have thought it more convenient for me to go thither. And I perceive that you are of the same opinion. To-morrow therefore to Sica's villa near Rome; thence, as you advise, I think of going into the neighbourhood of Ficulea. Respecting what you wrote to me, as I am coming up myself, we will see about it together. I am most sensible of your kindness, diligence, and prudence, both in the management of my affairs, and in consulting, and advising me in the letters you send.

LETTER XXXV.

SHOULD you have come to any understanding with Silius, I shall be glad to be informed of it the very day that I arrive at Sica's house; and especially what part he wishes to have excepted. For when you mention the boundary, we must take care that it be not the very place, for the sake of which, as you know, I have been led to think of the whole business. I send you a letter from Hirtius, which is both recent, and kindly written. Before I last parted from you, it never entered into my

¹ See Letter xxxii.

mind that a sum was to be distributed to the people, equal to the excess above a certain expence allowed by law to be laid out on a monument. This would not much affect me, but that somehow (perhaps foolishly) I should not like it to be called by any other name, than that of a temple. But however I may wish this, I doubt if I shall be able to attain it without altering the situation.¹ Pray consider how this is. For though I am less impatient, and have nearly collected myself; yet I stand in need of your counsel. Therefore I entreat you again and again more earnestly, than you like, or bear to be entreated by me, to embrace this subject with your whole heart.

LETTER XXXVI.

I wish to have a temple: from this I am not to be diverted. I am anxious to avoid the appearance of a monument, not so much on account of the legal penalty, as that I may accomplish the deification. This I might do by erecting it near the house; but, as I have often said, I am afraid of a change of pos-

¹ There were already many monuments erected in these gardens on the other side of the Tiber, amongst which it would be difficult to distinguish the temple he proposed to consecrate to his daughter.

sessors. In an open field, wherever I should erect it, it seems probable that it may retain the respect of posterity. You must bear with this weakness of mine; for such I acknowledge it to be. I cannot communicate, not even with myself, so freely, as with you. If the thing, the place, the design, meets your approbation, I beg you to read over the law, and send it to me. If any method of avoiding it should occur, I shall avail myself of it. If you write to Brutus, unless you think it improper, scold him for objecting to be in Cumana on account of the reason which he mentioned to you. For to my apprehension he could do nothing more uncivil. If you think it right to proceed in the affair of the temple, as I have begun, I should be glad if you would exhort and quicken Cluatus.¹ For, even if another situation appear preferable, I imagine I shall still want his advice and assistance. To-morrow you will perhaps be at your villa.²

LETTER XXXVII.

YESTERDAY I received two letters from you; one by Hilarius, dated the day before; the other by the messenger, on the same day. The

¹ See Letter XVIII. ² Near Rome.

same day also I received one from Ægypta the freedman, saying that Pilia and Attica were quite well. This last was delivered to me the thirteenth day. I thank you for sending me Brutus's letter. He wrote also to me. This letter I send you, and likewise a copy of my answer to it. Respecting the temple, if you find nothing for me in the gardens (which you may surely find, if you have that regard for me, which you certainly have), I highly approve your proposal about Tusculanum. However judicious you may be in your plans, as indeed you are, yet, unless you took a real interest in my obtaining what I so ardently wish, that idea could never have come so appositely into your mind. But somehow I require notoriety. Therefore you must accomplish for me the possession of these gardens. The most frequented are Scapula's: besides, there is the vicinity to where you are, that it may not occupy the whole day to go thither. For this reason I should exceedingly wish you to confer with Otho,¹ if he is in Rome, before your departure. If there is nothing to be had, though you are used to bear with my folly, yet I shall go on till I make you quite angry; for Drusus at least is disposed to sell. If then there is any thing else, it will not be my fault if I do

¹ Otho might probably be one of Scapula's heirs.

not buy it ; but in this I beg you to take care that I commit no error. The surest way of taking care is, if I can accomplish any thing about Scapula's gardens.² I wish you likewise to inform me how long you will stay in your villa near Rome. I have need of your favor, and your influence with Terentia ; but you will do as you think right. For I know that where any thing concerns me, you take more interest in it, than I do myself. Hirtius has written to me that Sex. Pompeius³ has left Corduba and fled into the more northern provinces, and that Cnæus has fled I know not whither, for it is of little consequence. I know nothing more. He dates his letter from Narbonne the 18th of April. You wrote to me doubtfully about the shipwreck of Caninius ; let me know therefore if any certain intelligence has arrived. With respect to your calling me from my sadness, you will greatly relieve me if you can find a place for the temple. Many things occur to my mind in favor of the dedication ; but I am greatly in want of a situation. Again therefore, see Otho about it.

² It was to be expected that Scapula being lately dead, his heirs would be obliged to sell these gardens in order to divide the property.

³ Sextus and Cnæus Pompeius were the sons of Cn. Pompeius Magnus.

LETTER XXXVIII.

I HAVE no doubt you were very busy, which was the reason of your not sending me any letter: but he was an idle fellow not to attend your convenience, when he was sent for that very purpose. At this time, unless any thing has detained you, I imagine you are in your villa. I continue writing here all day without any relief, but yet with some distraction of attention. Asinius Pollio has written to me on the subject of our unnatural relation.¹ What the younger Balbus lately intimated pretty plainly, and Dolabella more reservedly, he has openly declared. I should be deeply concerned, if there were any room for new sources of grief. But can any thing be more abominable? What a dangerous man! Though for my part—but I will restrain my feeling. Let me hear from you, as you may be at leisure; for there is nothing that presses. As to what you say, that I ought now to shew the firmness of my mind; and that some speak of me more severely, than either you, or Brutus, write: if any persons suppose that my mind is broken, and has lost its energy; let them know the extent and kind of studies in which I am en-

¹ Young Q. Cicero.

gaged; and I conceive, if they are men, they will think either that I do not deserve reproof, having so far roused myself as to bring my mind disengaged to the discussion of difficult questions; or, if I have chosen this method of diverting my grief, which is at once the most liberal, and the most worthy of a man of learning, that I ought rather to be commended. But while I do every thing that I can for my relief, do you effect that,² for which I perceive you are not less earnest, than I am. I seem to owe this to myself, and to be incapable of ease till I have discharged it, or seen a prospect of discharging it; that is, till I have a place, such as I want. If Scapula's heirs, as you say that Otho told you, mean to have the gardens divided into four parts, and valued, there is indeed no room for a purchaser. But if they are to be publicly sold, we will see what can be done. That Publician place, belonging to Trebonius and Cusinius, was offered me: but you know it is a mere barn; and I do not approve of it at all. Clodia's I like; but apprehend it is not to be sold. Though you say you quite revolt from Drusus's gardens; yet I must be content with those, unless you can find something else. The building I do not regard; for I shall build nothing more, than I

² The procuring a proper situation for a temple to be consecrated to his daughter.

should do otherwise. The 4th and 5th books of Antisthenes's *Cyrus* please me like the other works of the same author, who is more ingenious, than learned.

LETTER XXXIX.

WHEN the messenger arrived without a letter from you, I supposed the reason of your not writing to be that you had written the day before, what I answered in that letter. Yet I had expected to hear something relating to the letter of Asinius Pollio. But I measure your leisure too much by my own. However, unless there should be something of importance, I would not have you think it necessary to write till you are quite at liberty. I would do as you advise about the messengers, if there were any letters of consequence, as there were formerly; when, during the shorter days, yet the messengers constantly returned to their time. And there was something, as Silius, Drusus, and some other matters. Now, if it were not for Otho, there would be nothing to write about. Even that is deferred. Yet I find relief when I talk with you in my absence; and still more when I read your letters. But

since you are out of town (for so I suppose), and there is no particular occasion for writing, our correspondence may rest till something new occurs.

LETTER XL.

WHAT will be the nature of Cæsar's censure¹ in opposition to my commendation, I see from the book which Hirtius has sent me, in which he collects together the faults of Cato, while he speaks very highly of me. I have sent this to Musca, that he might give it to your librarians; for I wish to have it made public; and that this may be the sooner done, I should be glad if you would give directions to your people. I often attempt to compose something in the way of advice;² but I cannot please myself. In this I am countenanced by the address of Aristotle and of Theopompus to Alexander. But what resemblance is there between the two cases? They wrote what was at once honorable to themselves, and agreeable to Alexander. Can you devise any thing of

¹ Cæsar wrote a piece called *Anti-Cato*, in answer to Cicero's panegyric, called *Cato*.

² To Cæsar, and probably at Atticus's suggestion. Letter XLIV.

such a kind? As for me, I can suggest nothing. When you say that you fear my influence and authority may be lessened by this my grief; I know not what people should either blame, or require. Is it, that I should not grieve? How is that possible? That I should not sink under it? Who ever did so less? While I remained at your house, whom did I exclude? Who, that came, could be offended with me? From you I went to Astura. Those lively spirits, who find fault with me, cannot read so much, as I wrote. How well, is nothing to the purpose. But the style of writing was such, as nobody with a broken spirit could execute. I have been thirty days in my gardens.³ Who ever found a want of access to me, or of free conversation? And now I am so engaged in reading, and in writing, that my attendants find it more difficult to bear their leisure, than I to bear my labour. If any body asks, why I am not at Rome? Because it is the recess. Why I am not in any of my farms, which are suitable to such a time? Because I could not easily bear so much company. Therefore I remain, where he,⁴ who possessed that excellent place at Baïæ, used every year to spend this season. When I come to Rome,

³ At Astura.

⁴ It is uncertain of whom he speaks.

neither my looks, nor conversation, will subject me to reproof. I have lost for ever that gaiety, with which I used to season the sadness of these times; but there will be found no want of constancy and firmness either in my mind, or speech. Respecting Scapula's gardens, it seems possible, partly by your influence, partly by mine, to get them submitted to public auction. Unless this is done, I shall be excluded. But if we come to an open sale, my desire of possession will out-weigh Otho's wealth. For as to what you mention about Lentulus; it does not rest upon that. Let but the Faberian business⁵ be settled; and continue to exert yourself as you do; and I shall get what I want. In answer to your inquiry how long I shall remain here; it will be a few days; but I am not certain. As soon as I have determined, I will write to you. Do you likewise let me know how long you mean to stay in your villa. The very day on which I send this, I have also received both by letter, and by word of mouth, the same account you mention of Pilia and of Attica.

⁵ Letter xxix.

LETTER XLI.

I HAVE nothing to say; yet I wish to know where you are; and, if you are gone, or going, out of town, when you mean to return. You will therefore inform me. And respecting my movements, which you desire to know; I have determined to be at Lanuvium on the 14th; and from thence to go the day following either to Tusculanum, or to Rome: which I do, you shall know the same day. You know how querulous misfortune is; not indeed towards you; but yet I am grown very impatient about the temple. And unless this is, I do not say completed, but unless I see it in progress, I will venture to say (and you will receive it, as you are accustomed) my vexation will vent itself upon you, however undeservedly. But you will bear with me in writing this, as you do, and have born with all my weaknesses. I should be glad to have you collect all your consolations in this one object. If you ask, what it is I wish for? First Scapula's gardens; then Clodia's; afterwards, if Silius refuses, and Drusus is unreasonable, those of Cusinius and Trebonius; I believe they belong now to Terentius; I know they did belong to Rebilus. But if you prefer Tusculanum, as you have

signified in some of your letters, I shall not object to it. This then is what you must accomplish, if you wish me to be comforted; whom you now accuse more severely, than is natural to you; but you do it from your great affection, and overcome perhaps by my foolishness. Yet if you wish me to be comforted, this is the greatest comfort; or, if you would know the truth, the only one. If you have read Hirtius's letter; which I consider as a specimen of the censure, that Cæsar has written upon Cato; I should like you to inform me, at your convenience, what you think of it. To return to the subject of the Temple; unless it is finished this summer, which is yet all before us, I shall not think myself free from guilt.¹

LETTER XLII.

I HAVE never complained of your not writing; for I perceive what you mention.¹ Besides I suspect, or rather know, that you can have had nothing to say. On the 8th I supposed you to be out of town, and concluded that

¹ In Letter xviii. he had said that he considered himself as bound by a vow. He alludes to the same thing likewise in Letter xliii.

² That you are very busy.

there was nothing. I shall nevertheless send to you almost every day ; for I would rather send in vain, than that you should have nobody to take your letters, in case there should be any thing with which you think I ought to be acquainted. On the 8th I received your letter containing no intelligence ; for what had you to write about ? Yet, such as it was, it was not unpleasant to me to know even this, that you had no news. You mentioned however something about Clodia. Where then is she ? or when will she come ? That place pleases me so well, that, next to Otho's, I like nothing better. But I do not suppose either that she will sell. For she takes pleasure in it, and is in no want of money. And as for the other, you are aware of the difficulties. Yet pray let us try, that we may devise some means of gratifying my wishes. I think of leaving this place to-morrow, and going either to Tusculanum, or home,² and afterwards perhaps to Arpinum. When I know for certain, I will write to you. It had occurred to me to remind you of doing the very thing which you are doing : for I thought you could more conveniently transact the same business at home, without suffering yourself to be interrupted.

² To his house at Rome. I have thought it right to preserve the character of the original by a literal translation. He uses the word in the same sense elsewhere.

LETTER XLIII.

I HAVE determined to sleep at Lanuvium on the 14th, as I mentioned to you before; from thence I shall go either to Rome, or to Tusculanum. You shall know both beforehand. You do rightly in taking no notice of the relief which this business may justly afford me; it being such, believe me, as you could not suppose. The thing itself shews how earnestly I desire it, when I venture to confess it to you, who, I suspect, do not very much approve of it. But in this you must bear with my weakness. Bear with it? Nay, you must even forward it. About Otho I dare not hope; perhaps because I wish it. Besides, the purchase exceeds my ability; especially in opposition to one who is both desirous of having it, and rich, and one of the heirs. Next to this I should like Clodia's. But if these cannot be had, conclude what you will. I consider myself bound by a stricter obligation, than any body ever was by that of a vow. You will see likewise the Trebonian gardens, notwithstanding the owners are absent. And as I mentioned to you yesterday, you will think also about Tusculanum. The summer must certainly not be suffered to slip away without doing something.

LETTER XLIV.

(GRÆV. BOOK XIII. LETTER XXVI.)

I ENTIRELY approve of what you mention about Virgilius's portion.¹ You will therefore act accordingly. That is my first wish;² next to that, Clodia's; and if I can get neither, I fear I may become outrageous and rush upon Drusus. I know no moderation in my desire of that object, which you know. Therefore at intervals I incline to Tusculanum. For any thing is better than not to have it finished this summer. In my present state, I have no place where I can be more at my ease, than at Astura. But as those who are with me hasten away (I suppose because they cannot bear my sadness); though I should be very well content to remain; yet, as I mentioned to you, I shall go from hence, that I may not appear deserted. But which way? To Lanuvium? I try³ to go to Tusculanum; but will immediately let you know. You will bring your writing⁴ to an end. For my own part, it is

¹ Virgilius was one of the heirs of Scapula.

² Scapula's gardens.

³ His difficulty consisted in overcoming his repugnance to visit a place which sadly reminded him of his daughter.

⁴ Atticus seems to have been engaged in settling his accounts, with which these letters *litteras* were probably

not to be believed how much I write in the day; and even in the night; for I get no sleep. Yesterday also I accomplished a letter to Cæsar, because you seemed to wish it. And if you thought it expedient, there is no harm in its being written. As things are at present there is no necessity for sending it; but this shall be as you please. I will however send you a copy of it, perhaps from Lanuvium, unless it happens that I go to Rome. But you shall know to-morrow.

LETTER XLV.

(GRÆV. XLIV.)

I AM very well pleased that Hirtius should have written to you with sympathy about me, for he has done it kindly; and I am still better pleased that you should not have sent me his letter, for you have done it even more kindly. I wish the book, which he sent me upon Cato, to be published by your librarians for this reason, that his praise may be exalted by the censure of that party. In acting through Mustella you have a person extremely proper, and one who has been kindly disposed towards me

connected. Compare this with what he repeats in the following letter; *sed quæso confice, et te vacuum redde nobis.*

ever since the Pontian¹ business. Therefore get something done.² What else, but to secure access to a purchaser?³ This may be done through any of the heirs. And I apprehend Mustella⁴ will do it, if you ask him. You will thus procure for me the place, which I wish, for the purpose which I have at heart; and besides, “a repose for my old age.”⁵ For those of Silius, and of Drusus, do not appear to me sufficiently respectable for a family residence. How would it become one to remain for any length of time in such a villa as that? I should therefore prefer Otho’s; and, next to that, Clodia’s. If nothing can be done, either some stratagem must be practised upon Drusus,⁶ or I must be content with Tusculanum. In shutting yourself up at home, you have acted prudently. But pray use dispatch, and restore yourself to me free from care. I shall go from hence, as I before mentioned, to Lanu-

¹ Perhaps some person whom Cicero had defended, or otherwise assisted.

² In finding a place to erect a temple to Tullia.

³ To get Scapula’s gardens exposed to public sale.

⁴ Mustella appears to have been one of Scapula’s heirs.
See Letter v.

⁵ In the original is the same Greek word, which was explained in Letter xxv. n. 3.

⁶ Some artifice to induce him to sell his gardens at a reasonable price. See Letter xli.

vium on the 14th, and the day following to Tusculanum. For I have subdued my mind,⁷ and perhaps conquered it, if only I can persevere. You shall know therefore, perhaps tomorrow, at all events the day after. But pray, how is this? Philotimus affirms that Pompeius is not shut up in Carteia; about which Oppius and Balbus sent me the copy of a letter to Clodius Patavinus, declaring that they believed it to be true; but that a great war is still maintained.⁸ He is in the habit of being a complete Fulviniaster;⁹ but yet, if you have any intelligence, let me know it. I want also to know what is the truth respecting Caninius's shipwreck.¹⁰

⁷ Forced himself to return to Tusculanum, which he had hitherto avoided as containing many objects calculated to renew his grief for Tullia. See Letter XLV. and XLVI.

⁸ In Spain.

⁹ A partial interpreter of events in favor of his own, that is, of Pompeius's party. See Book x. Letter ix. Such as had been notoriously some person of the name of Fulvius, or Fulvinius.

¹⁰ See Letter XXXVII.

LETTER XLVI.

(GRÆV. XLV.)

WHILE I have been here¹ I have completed two long treatises: for I have no other means of deviating, as it were, from the path of wretchedness. Even if you have nothing to say, which I foresee will be the case, yet I wish you to tell me that, if only it is not in these terms. The accounts of Attica are excellent. I am concerned about your languor,² notwithstanding you say it is nothing. In Tusculanum I shall have the advantage of more frequently hearing from you, and sometimes seeing you. In other respects things are more supportable at Astura; nor are the objects, which revive my grief, more distressing here than every where else;³ though in truth, wherever I am, they are with me. I wrote to you about your neighbour⁴ Cæsar, because I had learned it

¹ At Astura.

² In the original is a Greek word of doubtful signification, but probably meaning a languor which created an indifference towards every thing.

³ This I conceive to be the just meaning of the word *magis* in this place. On the contrary, at Tusculanum there were many circumstances to remind him of his daughter.

⁴ A statue had lately been erected to Cæsar in the temple of Quirinus near Atticus's house, which was on the Quirinal hill.

from your letter. I would rather have him comrade with Quirinus, than with Public⁵ Safety. Let Hirtius be made Public;⁶ for I was of the same opinion, which you mention, that while our friend's genius is applauded, his attempt to censure Cato would be derided.

LETTER XLVII.

(GRÆV. XLVI.)

I HOPE to conquer my feelings, and to go from Lanuvium to Tusculanum. For I must either renounce for ever that estate (since the same painful sensations will remain, only in a less degree) or I know not what it signifies whether I go there now, or ten years hence. Since the being thus reminded, is nothing more, than what constantly wastes me day and night. What then, you will say, do your studies afford no relief? In this respect I fear they may even do the contrary; as I might otherwise perhaps be more insensible. For to a cultivated mind nothing is without feeling and interest.

⁵ Near to the temple of Quirinus was situated the temple of Public Safety; and Cicero means to say that he should be sorry to have any tyrant in a place of safety.

⁶ Hirtius's essay mentioned in Letter XL.

LETTER XLVIII.

(GRÆV. XLVII.)

Do then, as you mention, so that you put yourself to no inconvenience. For two words will be sufficient. Or I will go up, if it is necessary. This therefore as you can. About Mustella do, as you propose; though it is a difficult job. For this reason I more incline to Clodia. But in either case the Faberian account must be settled; about which there will be no harm in your having some conversation with Balbus; and indeed letting him know, what is the truth, that I am desirous of purchasing, and unable to do it without the discharge of that debt, and do not dare to engage upon an uncertainty. But since Clodia is to be at Rome, and you consider it so desirable, I look wholly that way; not that I should not prefer the other; but it is a great concern, and an arduous contest with one who is eager, who is rich, who is heir. Though in point of eagerness I will yield to nobody: in other respects I am inferior. But of this when we meet. Make¹ public Hirtius's book, as you do. Re-

¹ It must be remembered that previous to the invention of printing, it was a work of great labour to make copies of a book for the use of the public.

specting Philotimus,² I also thought the same. I foresee that your house will become more valuable from having Cæsar for your neighbour.³ I am expecting the return of my messenger to day. He will bring me an account of Pilia and Attica.

LETTER XLIX.

(GRÆV. XLVIII.)

I CAN easily believe that you are glad to be at home. But I should like to know how much remains to be done; or whether you have already finished, I am expecting you in Tusculanum; and the rather, because you wrote word to Tiro, that you were coming immediately, and added that you thought it necessary. While you were here, I was very sensible how much good you did me; but I am much more sensible of it since your departure. Therefore, as I mentioned to you in a former letter, I will either go wholly to you; or you shall come to me, so far as it will be consistent with your occupations.

² His intelligence about the war in Spain. See Letter XLIV.

³ See Letter XLV. This may be supposed to be said jestingly.

LETTER L.

(GRÆV. XLIX.)

YESTERDAY, not long after you left me I think, some persons of smart appearance brought me dispatches, and a letter from "C. Marius, the son of Caius, and grandson of Caius,"¹ urging me at great length, by the relationship between us, by the poem which I had inscribed with the name of Marius, by the eloquence of L. Crassus, his grandfather, to undertake his defence; and he sent me a detail of his case. I wrote to him in return, that he had no need of a patron, since the whole power was in his relation Cæsar, who was an excellent man, and exceedingly liberal; but that nevertheless he should have my good wishes. What times are these! That it should ever happen that Curtius² should think of standing for the Consulship! But enough of this. I am anxious about Tiro. But I shall soon know how he does; for I sent a person yesterday to see him; to whom at the same time I gave a letter for you. I send you a copy of my letter to Cæsar. I should be glad if you would let me know on what day the gardens are to be sold.

¹ This I take to be a transcript of the title assumed by this man, who was an impostor.

² The same who is before mentioned. See Book ix. Letter vi.

LETTER LI.

(GRÆV. LI.)

IN proportion as your arrival cheered me, so your departure afflicted me. Therefore when you can, that is, when you have done with Sextus's¹ sale, you will come to me again. A single day will be valuable to me; I need not say, agreeable. I would myself go to Rome in order to be with you, if I had sufficiently made up my mind on a certain subject.²

LETTER LII.

(GRÆV. LI.)

I HAVE got Tiro with me sooner than I had apprehended. Nicias is also arrived; and I heard to day that Valerius was coming. How many soever they may be, I shall feel myself more solitary, than if you alone were here. But I hope to see you after Peduceus's busi-

¹ Atticus, being a friend to Sextus Peduceus, wished to attend the sale of some part of his property.

² From the obscure hint contained in this expression, it is probable he might allude to his conduct in the Senate respecting Cæsar's authority and administration. See Letter xi. and xxix.

ness. You give some intimation that it may even be sooner: but this as you can. About Virgilius do as you mention.¹ I want however to know when the sale takes place. I see that you approve of my sending the letter to Cæsar. To say the truth, I quite agree in the propriety of doing so; and the rather, because there is nothing in it, that is unbecoming a good citizen; good at least for the times, to which all writers on government direct us to submit. But you know it was my desire that some of that party should read it first; which I wish you would take care of; and not let it be sent, unless you understand that they quite approve of it. You will easily find out whether they really think so, or only feign. Feigning would be to me a prohibition. But this you will probe. Tiro has informed me of your opinion about Cærellia; that it is unbecoming my dignity to remain in debt; and that you think I should give a note of hand—"This you fear; of the other you entertain no fear."² But these,

¹ Virgilius was one of the heirs of Scapula. (See Letter XLIV.) whose gardens Cicero wished to get. It is to the sale of these gardens that he refers in the subsequent sentence.

² The original is a verse, quoted also elsewhere from some unknown author. Cicero's meaning seems to be, that while Atticus was apprehensive of the debt being left

and many other matters, when we meet. With your leave however, the payment of the debt to Cærellia must be suspended, till I know about Meto and Faberius.

LETTER LIII.

(GRÆV. LII.)

You know L. Tullius Montanus, who went with Cicero.¹ I have received a letter from his sister's husband, saying that Montanus owes Plancus 25 Sestertia (£200.) as surety for Flaminius; and that something had been requested of you by Montanus respecting this business. If you can assist him, either by speaking to Plancus, or by any other means, I should be truly glad that you would do it: my obligation to him demands it. If, as it may happen, you are better acquainted with the business, than I am; or if you think that Plancus should be solicited; I wish you would write to me, that I may know what the case is, and what to ask of him. I am expecting

unpaid, he did not advert to the embarrassment which it might occasion to Cicero to pay it, before he was himself sure of being paid by his own creditors Meto and Faberius.

¹ To Athens. See Letter VIII. and XXIV.

to hear what you have done about the letter to Cæsar. I am not very anxious about Silius.² You must get me either Scapula's gardens, or Clodia's. But you seem to be in some doubt about Clodia, whether she will come, or when, and whether the gardens will be to be sold. What is it I hear of Spinther's being divorced? You are very confident, you will say, in the copiousness of the Latin language, to undertake such subjects:³ but they are mere transcripts, and done with less labour than you may suppose. I have only to find words, and in these I abound.

LETTER LIV.

(GRÆV. LIII.)

THOUGH I have nothing to say to you, yet I write, because I seem then to talk with you. There are with me here Nicias, and Valerius. I expect to day a letter from you written in

² Silius's gardens. See Letter XLIV.

³ Philosophical subjects, which, before Cicero, had not been treated in the Latin language. He goes on to say that he drew his matter from the Greek writers, and had little trouble except in finding Latin expressions. In the conclusion of his treatise *De Finibus* we find it said in the person of Atticus,—*Sed mehercule pergrata mihi oratio tua: quæ enim dici latine posse non arbitrabar, ea dicta sunt a te, nec minus plane, quam dicuntur a Græcis.*

the morning. There will perhaps be another in the afternoon, unless your correspondence with Epirus prevents you, which I would not interrupt. I send you letters to Marcianus, and to Montanus, which I should be glad if you would enclose in your packet;¹ unless that is already gone.

¹ Which Atticus was going to send to Buthrotum in Epirus, from whence Cicero's letters would be forwarded to Athens.

BOOK XIII.

The arrangement of the Letters in this Book appears to be in several instances incorrect; yet the inconvenience, not to mention the difficulty, of altering it in a way that could be satisfactory, made it to be thought more desirable to preserve the order already established.

LETTER I.

NOBÖDY could have written more firmly, or more temperately, than you have done to Cicero,¹ or more entirely as I could wish. Your letters to the Tullii² are likewise extremely prudent. So that either these must have an effect,³ or we must adopt a different plan. I see that you are using, or rather have already used, all diligence about the money.⁴

¹ The son.

² Tullius Montanus and Tullius Marcianus. See Book XII. Letter LIII. and LIV. Who were with the young Cicero at Athens.

³ His son appears to have been living extravagantly.

⁴ Collecting the money due to Cicero, that he might make his intended purchase of a site for a temple.

If you succeed in this, I shall owe the gardens to you. There is no kind of possession, which I should like better, especially for that purpose⁵ in which I am engaged; and about which you prevent my impatience, by the assurance, or rather promise, for the summer.⁶ Besides, for the decline of my life,⁷ and the relief of my sorrow, nothing can be found more suitable. My wish for it sometimes urges me to exhort you; but I check myself; for I do not doubt but that in a matter, which you think I have much at heart, your wishes even exceed my own. Therefore understand this, as if it were really so.⁸ I am anxious to know what they⁹ think of my letter to Cæsar. Nicias is much attached to you, as he ought to be, and is highly gratified by your remembrance of him. On my part I have a great affection for our friend Peduceus; and transfer to him all the regard I felt for his father; besides that I value him for his own sake, as much as I valued the other; and am much obliged to you for wishing to produce this mutual attachment between us. When you have examined the gardens;

⁵ The deification of his daughter.

⁶ That it should be done in the course of the summer.
See Book XII. Letter XLI. and XLIII.

⁷ See Book XII. Letter XLV.

⁸ As if I had really exhorted you to use diligence in this transaction.

⁹ Cæsar's friends. See Letter LII. Book XII.

and have informed me about the letter;¹⁰ I shall have some subject to write upon. But at all events I shall write to you; for there will always be something to say.

LETTER II.

YOUR early information was more gratifying to me, than the substance of your letter. For what can be more shameful?¹ But I am now grown callous to such things, and have put off all feeling. I look for a letter from you to day; not that I expect any news; for how should there be any? But yet—You will order the letters to be taken to Oppius and Balbus; at the same time if you can meet with Piso, you will speak to him about the gold.² If Faberius arrives, you will see that the assignment is made (if indeed any is made) for as much as is due. You will receive the account from Eros. Ariarathes, Ariobarzanes's son, is come to Rome. I imagine he wants to purchase

¹⁰ The letter he had written to Cæsar.

¹ There is nothing to shew certainly to what this alludes: but on comparison with Book XII. Letter XXXVIII. it is probable that Atticus might have written to Cicero on the subject of young Quintus.

² See Book XII. Letter V.

some kingdom from Cæsar; for at present he has no place of his own to set his foot in. Our friend Sestius has the entire possession of him as his public attendant; which I do not regret; but as I have a great friendship with his brothers, arising from the important service I rendered them,³ I have written to invite him to my house. Having sent Alexander for this purpose, I shall deliver this letter to him. So to-morrow is Peduceus's sale: therefore as soon as you are at liberty;⁴ though Faberius may perhaps be an impediment; but however, when you can. Our Dionysius makes heavy complaints, and not without reason, that he is so long kept from his scholars. He has written to me at great length, and I suppose also to you. I apprehend he will absent himself some time longer. I am sorry; for I want the man very much.

³ During his government in Cilicia. See Book v. Letter xx.

⁴ As soon as Atticus should be disengaged from attending Peduceus's sale, Cicero hoped to see him in Tusculanum. Book xii. Letter li.

LETTER III.

I AM expecting a letter from you ; though not just yet ; for I write this reply to your last early in the morning. I am so well satisfied with these assignments, as to entertain no other question about them, except what arises from your hesitation. For I do not quite take it in good part, that you should refer to me, who, if I negotiated the business for myself, should do nothing but by your advice. But I understand you to do it rather from the accuracy with which you always act, than because you have any real doubt about their responsibility. For you do not approve of applying to Cælius, and are against selling any more.¹ In both which I agree with you. Therefore I must have recourse to these assignments. Otherwise you must for once² have been made surety, and in these very deeds. But every thing shall rest upon me. As to the time of payment being distant, let me but get what I want ; I imagine the day appointed by the

¹ It appears from Letters v. and vi. of the preceding Book, that Cælius was one of the persons with whom Cicero had exchanged some of his plate for gold.

² We learn from Cornelius Nepos that Atticus would never be surety for any body.

auctioneer, or at least by the heirs, will likewise be distant. See about Crispus and Mustella; and I should like to know what is the portion belonging to these two. I had been informed of Brutus's arrival; for my freedman Ægypta brought me a letter from him; which I send to you, as being kindly³ written.

LETTER IV.

I AM indebted to you for an elaborate account of the ten commissioners.¹ And indeed I believe you are right; for the son² was Quæstor the year after Mummius was Consul. Since you repeat your question, whether I am satisfied with the assignees; I repeat my answer,³ that I am. If you can make any arrangement with Piso,⁴ bring that business to a conclusion: for Aulus⁵ appears to be sincere. I hope you

³ Cicero had before taken notice of the ungracious manner in which Brutus used to write. See Book vi. Letter i.

¹ See Letter xxx.

² He believes Atticus to be right in naming Tuditanus the father, instead of the son. See Letter vi.

³ This answer is contained in Letter iii.

⁴ With whom he wished to exchange some of his plate for gold. See Book xii. Letter v.

⁵ Commentators have doubted about this name, which however I have admitted, because we find it before in conjunction with that of Piso. See Book xii. Letter v.

may be able to come sooner; but if not, at least let us be together when Brutus comes to Tusculanum. I am very desirous that we should meet. You will be able to learn what day it will be, if you give it in charge to a servant to inquire.

LETTER V.

I HAD supposed that Sp. Mummius was one of the ten commissioners; but however—For it is natural that he should have been lieutenant to his brother; and he certainly was at Corinth. I send you Torquatus.¹ Talk with Silius,² as you propose, and urge him. He objected to the day of payment being in May; to the rest he made no opposition. But you will manage this also with the same care you do every thing. About Crispus and Mustella you will inform me as soon as you have settled any thing. Since you promise to be with me on Brutus's arrival, I am satisfied; especially as the intervening days will be employed on my chief concern.³

¹ This probably means the first book of his treatise *De Finibus*, in which L. Torquatus is introduced as supporting the opinions of Epicurus. See Letter xxxii.

² About his gardens. See Book xii. Letter xxv. &c.

³ The procuring a place for the temple to be erected to his daughter.

LETTER VI.

You have done properly about the Aqueduct. See that I may not have to pay no tax on pillars;¹ though I think I heard from Camillus that the law had been altered. What answer can I make to Piso more civil, than that Cato² is at present alone? And this answer applies not only to the co-heirs of Herennius, but to other cases, as you know; for you were joined with me in the affair of the young Lucullus, respecting the money which his guardian, (for that ought to be noticed) had taken up in Greece. But he³ acts liberally in saying that he will do nothing contrary to my wishes. When we meet therefore, as you observe, we will resolve how to settle this business. You have done quite right to have a meeting with the other co-heirs. I have no copy of my letter to Brutus, which you ask for; but however it is safe, and Tiro says that you ought to have it; and, as I remember, at the same time with

¹ This may be supposed to have been written in answer to some observation of Atticus respecting the tax which would be required on the pillars of his temple; to which he replies that he desires he may have to pay some; that is, he desires he may have some pillars.

² That Cato the son had none of his guardians with him, to advise him.

³ Piso.

his expostulatory letter I sent you mine also in answer to him. You will take care that I escape the trouble of the judgeship. I was quite ignorant of that Tuditanus who was great grandfather to Hortensius; and supposed it to have been the son, who could not have been commissioner at that time. I consider it as certain that Mummius was at Corinth. For this Spurius, who lately died, often used to repeat to me some letters written in comic verses to his friends from Corinth. But I have no doubt he was lieutenant to his brother, and not one of the ten. And I have moreover understood that it was not customary formerly to admit among the commissioners those who were related to the commanders, as we, through ignorance, or rather negligence of their excellent institutions, sent M. Lucullus, and L. Muræna, and others nearly allied, as commissioners to L. Lucullus. But it is most natural that he should have been among the first of his brother's lieutenants. How much trouble you take, while you both attend to these matters, and dispatch my business, and are much less careful about your own concerns, than about mine.

LETTER VII.

I HAVE had Sestius with me; and yesterday Theopompus arrived. He reported that letters had been received from Cæsar, who said that he had determined to remain at Rome; and added the same reason which was mentioned in my letter,¹ lest in his absence his laws should be disregarded, as had been the case with the sumptuary law. This is very natural, and what I had suspected.² But these people must have their way;³ unless you would have me persevere in these same⁴ sentiments. He mentions also that Lentulus is certainly divorced from Metella. But all this you know better than I. Write then what you will in reply, so that you write something. Though I am at a loss to conceive what you can write about, unless perhaps about Mustella, or unless you have seen Silius. Brutus came to Tusculanum yesterday past four in the afternoon; to day therefore he will call upon me. I wish it

¹ His letter to Cæsar.

² It appears to me that Cicero, in his letter before mentioned, had anticipated this, and wished to prevent it.

³ Cæsar's friends must be attended to, who objected to many parts of his letter, (See Letter xxvii.) and probably to what he had said on this subject.

⁴ The sentiments expressed in his letter.

had been while you were here. I desired he might be informed that you had waited for him as long as you could; that you would come when you heard of his arrival; and that I would, as I do, give you immediate notice of it.

LETTER VIII.

I HAVE positively nothing to say to you; for it is not long since you left me; and soon after, you returned my triple tablets.¹ I shall be obliged to you to let the parcel be taken to Vestorius; and to desire somebody to inquire if any farm belonging to Q. Faberius² in the neighbourhood of Pompeii, or of Nola, is to be sold. I should be glad if you would send me Brutus's Epitome of Cælius's History;³ and get from

¹ The Romans carried about with them little tablets covered with wax, called *pugillares*, on which they wrote with a *stilus*. These tablets consisted of two, three, or more leaves, and were accordingly called *duplices*, *triplices*, &c. Cicero, it may be supposed, had written to Atticus on one of these consisting of three leaves, which Atticus had returned with his answer.

² The same, of whom mention is made. Book XII. Letter xxv. and elsewhere.

³ Brutus may probably have epitomised several histories. In Book XII. Letter v. we read of his epitome of

Philoxenus Panætius's treatise on Prudence. I shall see you on the 15th with your family.

LETTER IX.

You had just gone away yesterday, when Trebatius came; and soon after, Curtius; the latter to pay his compliments; but on being invited, he staid. Trebatius continues with me. This morning Dolabella came. We had a long conversation till the day was far advanced. I can describe nothing more attentive, or more affectionate.¹ We came at length to the subject of young Quintus, of whom he related many particulars not to be repeated or named; and one thing of such a kind, that, unless the whole army knew it, I should not only not venture to dictate to Tiro, but not even to write it myself—But I check myself. Torquatus arrived very seasonably, while Dolabella was with me; and Dolabella in the

Fannius's History; and Plutarch has reported that on the evening previous to the battle of Pharsalia he was engaged in making an abridgment of Polybius.

¹ Dolabella had married Cicero's daughter, whose death he so deplored. It is doubtful whether a divorce between them had taken place, or not; at least there seems to have been no ill will between the parties.

kindest manner explained the terms I had used in discoursing with him ;² for I had just been discoursing most urgently ; which seemed to be gratefully received by Torquatus. I am longing to know if you have heard any thing of Brutus.³ Though Nicias supposed it to have actually taken place, but that the divorce was not approved : for which reason I am the more anxious, as well as you ; that if any offence is taken, this may heal it. I am obliged to go to Arpinum, as it is necessary for me to regulate those small farms ; and I am apprehensive that I may not be able to get away, if I wait till Cæsar comes ; of whose arrival Dolabella entertains the same opinion, which you formed from Messalla's letter. When I get there, and find what business is to be done, I will write to inform you about the time of my return.

² On the subject of Torquatus.

³ Who repudiated his wife Clodia, and was going to marry Porcia, Cato's daughter. Cicero hoped that Cato's popularity might obliterate any disapprobation excited by this divorce.

LETTER X.

I AM not surprized that you should be deeply concerned about Marcellus,¹ and apprehensive of all kinds of danger. For who would be afraid of what had never happened before, and what human nature seemed incapable of committing? So that every thing is now to be feared. But do you² of all people transgress the evidence of history, by saying that I am the only Consular³ remaining? What? Do you make no account of Servius? Though this has no weight with me; especially as I think the condition of the others⁴ no way inferior. For what am I? Or what can I be, either at home, or in public? In fact, unless it had occurred to my mind to occupy myself in writing, I should not know which way to turn myself. I think I must do, as you mention, to Dolabella, and take some subject of more common and public interest. I must at all events

¹ He had been killed near Athens by P. Magius Chilo, one who had been his friend.

² Who are usually so accurate.

³ A Senator who had been Consul. It does not mean literally the only one; but that he was the only one who could support the dignity of the situation.

⁴ Those who have died in supporting the Republic.

compose something ; for he⁵ earnestly desires it. If Brutus has come to any conclusion,⁶ you will take care to let me know it. I think he should conclude it as soon as possible, if only he has made his determination ; for he will thus either extinguish, or appease, all idle talk. There are some who even talk to me about it. But he will conduct this best himself, especially if he also consults with you. It is my intention to go from hence the 22d. For here I have nothing to do ; nor indeed there, nor any where ; there⁷ however there is something. I expect Spinther to day ; for Brutus has sent to inform me. In his letter he exculpates Cæsar on the death of Marcellus. But no suspicion would fall upon him, even if he had been killed insidiously. Now however, when it is clear that it was done by Magius, is not the whole to be imputed to his insanity ? I am at a loss to understand this ;⁸ therefore you will explain it ; though I have no further doubt, excepting about what may have been the cause of Magius's madness ; for whom he had even been surety at Sunium. It was perhaps that very circumstance ; for he was insolvent. I imagine he may have asked some-

⁵ Perhaps Dolabella.

⁶ About his marriage.

⁷ At Arpinum. See Letter ix.

⁸ To understand why Brutus should exculpate Cæsar.

thing from Marcellus, and Marcellus may have replied, with that firmness which was natural to him, that "things seen near, and at a distance, have not the same aspect."⁹

LETTER XI.

I IMAGINED the removal to Arpinum to be a slight matter; but I find it quite otherwise, since I have been separated further from you. It was however expedient, both for the sake of reletting the farms, and to avoid imposing on our friend Brutus so great a burden of civility.¹ Hereafter we shall be able better to cultivate a mutual friendship in Tusculanum.² But at this time, when he was so good as to visit me

⁹ The original is part of a verse of Euripides. It means that Marcellus had now become acquainted with Magius's distressed fortunes, which before he did not know, when he engaged to be his surety. Some have supposed this quotation to belong to the following letter; in which case it would mean that Cicero, since his removal to Arpinum, found the actual separation from Atticus, more grievous, than he had expected in distant contemplation.

¹ In calling every day upon Cicero, who had not sufficiently recovered his spirits to wait upon Brutus in return.

² Brutus, as well as Cicero, appears to have had a residence in the neighbourhood of Tusculum.

daily, and I was unequal to go to him, he was deprived of all comfort in his Tusculan villa. If then Servilia³ is arrived; if Brutus has concluded any thing,⁴ or even if he is resolved upon it; when they go⁵ to meet Cæsar; in short, whatever occurs, which I ought to know; you will inform me. Converse with Piso,⁶ if you can: you see how ripe the business⁷ is. Yet do not put yourself to inconvenience.

LETTER XII.

YOUR accounts of my dear Attica have much affected me; yet at the same time they have afforded me comfort. For your own consolation, expressed in the same letters, is a sufficient warrant for the relief of my anxiety. You have famously sold the speeches in favor of Ligarius. Henceforward whatever I publish, I shall employ you to proclaim. As to what you say about Varro; you know that my compositions

³ Brutus's mother.

⁴ Relating to his marriage with Porcia.

⁵ This is generally supposed to mean Brutus; but it seems to me more reasonable to understand it generally of people going to meet Cæsar on his return from Spain.

⁶ About the gold he was to provide in exchange for Cicero's plate. See Book XII. Letter v.

⁷ The sale of Scapula's gardens was approaching.

used formerly to consist of orations, or something of that kind, in which it was impossible for me to introduce Varro's name. But since I entered upon these philosophical inquiries, Varro has already given me notice of a great and weighty address:¹ two years have elapsed, while that Callipides² in his continual course has not advanced a foot. In the mean time I prepared myself, as he desired, to make him a return "according to the same measure"³—"or better if I could," for so Hesiodus adds. I have now pledged to Brutus, with your approbation, that Treatise on the Foundation of Moral Duty, with which I am very well pleased. And you have assured me of his kind acceptance of it. I may as well therefore remove from my Academical Disputations, the present speakers, who are distinguished characters indeed, but by no means philosophical, and discourse with too much subtilty; and substitute Varro in their place. For there are the opinions of Antiochus, to which he is much attached. I can find a place for Catulus and Lucullus elsewhere, if you approve of these

¹ His treatise on the Latin Language, which was afterwards published and inscribed to Cicero.

² This was a proverbial expression taken from some person who was busily employed, but made little progress.

³ The original is part of a verse from Hesiodus.

persons; and I shall be glad if you will write in answer to me upon this subject. I have received a letter from Vestorius about Brinnius's auction.⁴ He says that the business has without any dispute been referred⁵ to me, to take place the 24th of June. For they supposed that I should be in Rome, or in Tusculanum. You will therefore tell either your friend S. Vettius, my co-heir, or my friend Labeo, to defer a little the sale; as I shall not be in Tusculanum till about the 7th of July. You have with you Eros,⁶ as well as Piso. Let us think, with all our minds, of Scapula's gardens. The day is at hand.

LETTER XIII.

IN consequence of the letter you wrote to me about Varro, I have taken the Academy¹ entirely out of the hands of those distinguished personages, and transferred it to our friend;

⁴ Cicero appears to have been one of several heirs to Brinnius, whose property, as usual, was to be sold, and divided.

⁵ It was usual for one of the legatees to be appointed to conduct the sale. See Book I. Letter x.

⁶ Cicero's agent. See Letter II.

¹ His books on the philosophy of the Academy. See Letter XII.

and from two books I have made it into four. These are in a higher tone, than the others were; though there are several parts left out. I am very desirous of hearing from you, who understood that he was pleased with my design. I want also to know who it was that you understood excited his envy; unless perhaps it was Brutus. That was the only thing which remained.² But yet I should like much to know. In truth, unless my self love deceive me, those books have come out in such a manner, that there is nothing like them even in Greek. You will patiently bear the loss of your copy³ having been transcribed to no purpose. This however will be far more brilliant, more condensed, and better. I am now in doubt which way to turn.⁴ I am desirous of gratifying Dolabella's wishes; but can find no proper subject. At the same time "I respect the Trojans:"⁵ and if I should find something, I do not see how I can escape reproach.

² As if he had said that the envy excited by the dedication of his former work to Brutus, was the only thing that could be added to enhance the satisfaction he had in his treatise *De Finibus*.

³ Of the *Academica*.

⁴ What work I shall next undertake.

⁵ The original is from Homer, and has been more than once quoted before. See Book II., v., and Book VII., i. The meaning is that he had too much respect for honest citizens to write any thing unbecoming the Republic.

I must either give it up therefore; or I must devise something else. But why do I regard these trifles? How, I beseech you, does my dear Attica; for whom I am very anxious? But I frequently recur to your letter, and feel satisfaction in it; yet I look for further accounts.

LETTER XIV.

BRINNIUS's freedman, my co-heir, wrote to me to say, that, if I pleased, he and Sabinus Albius, two joint heirs, would come to wait upon me. I entirely disapprove of it: the inheritance is not worth it. Besides, they may easily attend the day of the sale, which is the 11th, if they will come to me in Tusculanum on the morning of the 8th. Or if they wish to put it off longer, they may do it for two or three days, or as long as they please; for it makes no difference. Therefore unless they are already set out, I would have you stop them. Let me know if there is any news of Brutus; or if you have any intelligence of Cæsar; or if there is any thing else. I should wish you to consider again and again whether you approve of sending to Varro what I have written; though there is something also which

concerns yourself; for you must know that you are introduced as a third personage in that dialogue.¹ I think then we should consider, notwithstanding the names are already inserted. But they may either be erased, or altered.

LETTER XV.

PRAY, how is my Attica? For I have had no letter from you these three days. This is not to be wondered at; as nobody came from Rome, and possibly there was no reason for writing. In consequence I have myself nothing to write about. But the day on which I deliver this to Valerius, I am expecting one of my people, who if he arrives, and brings any thing from you, I am persuaded I shall be at no loss what to say.

LETTER XVI.

THOUGH I went in pursuit of streams and solitudes, that I might better be able to support myself; I have hitherto not stired a foot out

¹ The Academics being written in the form of dialogues.

of the house, such great and continued rains have we had. I have transferred that whole Academical composition to Varro. It had at first been in the names of Catulus, Lucullus, and Hortensius. Afterwards, as this appeared unsuitable, owing to these persons being, not indeed uninstructed, but notoriously unversed in such subjects, I introduced into those dialogues Cato and Brutus. Your letter about Varro is just arrived. The opinions of Antiochus could be more fitly supported by nobody. Yet I should wish you to inform me, in the first place, whether you think any thing should be inscribed to him; then, if you think so, whether this is the properest thing. What of Servilia? Is she yet arrived? Is Brutus doing any thing?¹ or when? What is heard of Cæsar? I shall be in Tusculanum on the 7th, as I mentioned.² You will settle with Piso,³ if you can.

LETTER XVII.

ON the 27th I hope to receive something from Rome; not that I had given any particular

¹ About his marriage.

² See Letter XII.

³ See Letter IV. and XI.

directions. Therefore send something by your own people. I must repeat the same inquiries; what Brutus intends? or if he has taken any steps? and whether there is any thing from Cæsar? But what are these things? which I care little about: I want to know how my Attica does. Though your letter, which is already too old, bids me hope the best; yet I look for some recent information.

LETTER XVIII.

You see the advantage of being near.¹ Let us then conclude the purchase of the gardens.² While I was in Tusculanum I seemed to be talking with you; so frequent was the intercourse of our letters. But that will presently be the case again.³ In the mean time, at your suggestion, I have completed the books to Varro with some acuteness. Still I wait for your answer to what I wrote to you: first, by what means you understood that he wished it of me; since he, who is himself so great a

¹ This is probably said in reply to some observation of Atticus.

² Which have the advantage of being so near to Rome. See Book XII. Letter XXXVII.

³ He should soon be in Tusculanum again.

writer, never addressed⁴ any thing to me: then, who it is that he envied; unless perhaps Brutus.⁵ For if he does not envy him; much less Hortensius,⁶ or those who speak upon the Republic. I wish you distinctly to inform me in the first place, whether you continue in the same mind, that I should send him what I have written; or whether you think there is no occasion for it. But of this when we meet.

LETTER XIX.

My secretary Hilarus, to whom I had given a letter for you, was just gone on the 28th, when the messenger arrived with your letter dated the day before; in which it was particularly gratifying to me, that my Attica begs you not to be uneasy; and that you say there is no danger. Your authority, I see, has famously recommended the Ligarian oration. For Balbus and Oppius wrote to me to say that they were extremely pleased with it, and had in conse-

⁴ Never provoked me to write by first addressing any of his numerous works to me.

⁵ See Letter XIII.

⁶ To whom Cicero had inscribed a book of Philosophy; or those in whose names the dialogue is maintained in his treatise on the Republic.

quence sent it to Cæsar, as you mentioned to me before. In the case of Varro, I am not moved by any apprehension of appearing vain glorious;¹ for I had determined to include no living characters in my dialogues;² but since you inform me that Varro is desirous of it, and sets a great value upon it, I have composed this work, and completed the whole Academical discussion in four books; I know not how well, but with such care, that nothing can exceed it. In these, what had been excellently collected by Antiochus against the doctrine of incomprehensibility, I have attributed to Varro; to this I reply in my own person; and you are the third in our conversation. If I had made Cotta and Varro disputing with each other, as you suggest in your last letter, mine would be a mute character. This has a good effect in old people; as Heraclides has done in several books; and I in the six books on Government. I have three books also on Oratory, with which I am much satisfied; and in these likewise the characters are such, that it became me to be silent. For the speakers are Crassus, Antonius, Catulus the old man, C. Julius brother to Catulus, Cotta, and Sulpicius. The discourse is supposed to

¹ I do not insert Varro's name through fear of being censured for adopting the great names of persons deceased.

² See Book XII. Letter XII.

be held while I was a boy, so that it was impossible for me to sustain any part in it. But what I have lately written are in the manner of Aristotle, where the conversation is so managed, that he himself has the principal part. I have finished the five books on the Foundation of Moral Duty, so as to give the Epicurean doctrine to L. Torquatus, the Stoical to M. Cato, the Peripatetic to M. Piso; for I considered that their being dead, would preclude all jealousy. These Academics, as you know, I had discussed in the persons of Catulus, Lucullus, and Hortensius; but in truth the subject did not suit their characters; being more logical than what they could be supposed ever to have dreamed of. Therefore when I read your letter about Varro, I seized it as an inspiration. Nothing could be more adapted to that species of Philosophy, in which he seems to take particular delight; or to the support of such a part, that I could manage to avoid making my own sentiments predominant. For the opinions of Antiochus are extremely persuasive, and are so carefully expressed, as to retain the acuteness of Antiochus, with my own brilliancy of language, if indeed I possess any. But consider again and again whether you think these books ought to be attributed to Varro. Some things occur to me upon the subject; but these when we meet.

LETTER XX.

I HAVE received from Cæsar a letter of condolence dated April 30th from Seville. I have not heard what has been promulgated about extending the city:¹ and should be glad to know. I am pleased that my services are kindly received by Torquatus, and shall not fail to increase them. It is impossible for me now to add to my Ligarian oration any thing about Tubero's wife and daughter-in-law; for the speech has been widely disseminated; nor have I any wish to defend Tubero, who is wonderfully fond of accusing people. You have had truly a fine exhibition.² Though I am very well satisfied with this place,³ yet I am desirous of seeing you, and shall accordingly return, as I intended. I imagine you have had a meeting with my brother, and I want therefore to know what you have done.⁴ I am in no trouble about my reputation, whatever I may foolishly have written to you at that time. There is nothing better (for there

¹ See Letter xxxiii.

² Probably alluding to some application, or perhaps altercation between Tubero and these ladies before Atticus.

³ Arpinum.

⁴ Towards reconciling Cicero and Quintus. See the ninth and following Letters of Book xi.

is no other just object of care) than this;⁵ that every body through his whole life should not deviate a hair's breadth from a right conscience. Observe how philosophically I talk. Do you suppose I am engaged in these speculations to no purpose? I should be sorry to have you vexed; for it was nothing.⁶ And, to return again to the same point, do you think that I have altogether any other care, than that I may not be deficient towards him?⁷ Or is this my object forsooth, that I may appear to preserve the public opinion? "For on these "things there is no dependance."⁸ I wish I were able to bear my domestic troubles⁹ as easily, as I can disregard these. But you, suppose me to have wished something, which has not been accomplished. Is it not allowable then to have one's own opinion? But how-

⁵ So I understand this passage, which has been variously interpreted by different Commentators.

⁶ I conceive this alludes to some expression fallen from Atticus, probably on the occasion of Quintus Cicero.

⁷ This seems to be written under a sense of Philosophical propriety, by which he was taught to be anxious about nothing but his own conduct.

⁸ In the original is a fragment only of a Greek sentence, which, in our ignorance of the remainder, must be supplied by conjecture.

⁹ Meaning, no doubt, his affliction, for his daughter, as well as his concern about Terentia, and Quintus.

ever, what was then done¹⁰ I cannot help approving; and yet I can very well lay aside all care about it; as indeed I do. But more than enough of trifles.

LETTER XXI.

I DELIVERED a long letter to Hirtius, which I had just written in Tusculanum. To that, which you sent me there, I shall reply at some other time; at present I wish to advert to others. What can I say about Torquatus, till I have heard something from Dolabella? As soon as that happens, you shall immediately know. I expect a messenger from him to day, or at farthest to-morrow, who shall be sent on to you as soon as he arrives. I am expecting to hear from Quintus; for when I was setting out from Tusculanum on the 24th, as you know, I sent a messenger to him. To return to my business; that expression of yours, which

¹⁰ Respecting his conduct towards his brother, who seemed to take offence at Cicero's advancing money to Pompeius, while he suffered Quintus to remain in difficulties. See Book XI. Letter XIII. I am aware that the latter part of this letter has been very differently interpreted, and supposed by some able commentators to relate to Cicero's success in the Forum, for which I see no sufficient grounds.

had wonderfully pleased me, now exceedingly displeases: for it is altogether a nautical term, as indeed I knew; but I thought that when the rowers were ordered *inhibere*, “to back their oars,” they suspended their motion. Yesterday however, upon the arrival of a vessel at my villa,¹ I learnt that this was not the case; for they do not suspend them, but move them in another manner. This is quite different from the Greek *εποχῆ*. Therefore let it stand in the book, as it was. Mention this also to Varro, unless he has already altered it. For there is no better word than I had used before, and which is warranted by the authority of Lucullus. Carneades also makes the guard of the boxer, and the action of the charioteer holding in his horses, to correspond with *εποχῆ*; but the backing the oars is attended with motion, and that a considerable one, while the ship is turned round to the stern. You see how much more I care about this, than either about public rumour;² or about Pollio:³ I care also about Pansa,⁴ if any thing certain is known; for I imagine it has been made public: and if there has been any news of Critonius; or any thing ascer-

¹ On the banks of the Liris, or Garigliano.

² What the public may say of him, as in the preceding letter.

³ He had been left by Cæsar in Spain.

⁴ It is uncertain to what this relates.

tained respecting Metellus and Balbinus.⁵ Tell me; is it your pleasure to publish my writings first, without my leave? Not even Hermodorus did this, who used to divulge Plato's books; from whence came the proverb, "Hermodorus deals in words."⁶ How is this? Do you think it right that any body should have it before Brutus, whom I addressed at your suggestion?⁷ For Balbus wrote me word that he had transcribed the fifth book of the Foundations of Moral Duty from you; in which I have not indeed altered much; yet something. But you will do well to keep back the others; that Balbus may not receive them uncorrected, or Brutus when they are stale. But enough of these matters, that I may not seem to be diligent about trifles. Though now these things are the greatest with which I have to do. For what else is there? I am using such dispatch in sending to Varro what I have written at your suggestion, as already to have forwarded it to Rome to be transcribed. You may, if you please, have it immediately; for I

⁵ I understand these latter sentences as depending upon *curo* borrowed from what is said above, of his feeling more concern for his own trifles, than for public news.

⁶ Hermodorus made a traffic of publishing in Sicily the lectures he had heard from Plato.

⁷ His treatise *De Finibus* is addressed to Brutus, and is that of which Cicero here speaks.

have written to my clerks to let yours have the liberty of copying it; but you will keep it private till I see you; as you always do with great care, when I have desired it. But in consequence of my having omitted to mention this to you, Cærelia, glowing with a wonderful passion for philosophy, copies from your people, and is in the possession of these same books on the Foundations of Moral Duty. And I assure you (subject indeed to human fallibility) that she did not receive them from my people; for they were never out of my sight; and they were, besides, so far from making two copies, that it was with difficulty they completed one. I do not however impute any fault to your clerks; and that I would have you understand; for I had omitted to say that I did not yet wish them to get abroad. What! still upon trifles? For upon subjects of importance I have nothing to say. I agree with you about Dòlabella. Let the co-heirs,⁸ as you mention, come to Tusculanum. Balbus has written to me about Cæsar's arrival, that it will not be before the 1st of August. The account of Attica is excellent, that she has less fever, is quieter, and bears her illness with patience. As to what you say upon that subject for our consideration,⁹ in which I take no less

⁸ See Letter xiv. ⁹ The choosing a husband for Attica.

interest than you ; so far as I know, I greatly approve of the gentleman, his family, and fortune. What after all is the chief thing, I am not personally acquainted with him ; but I hear favorable reports from Scrofa. He likewise lives very near you, if this is any thing to the purpose ; and is more noble¹⁰ than his father. When we meet therefore—and it will be with a mind disposed to approve. For in addition to what I have said, I have a regard for his father, as I believe you know ; and greater than not only you, but than he is aware of ; and that, both deservedly, and of long standing.

LETTER XXII.

It is not without reason that I ask so particularly what you think best about Varro. Some things occur to me, which I shall reserve till we meet. I have been very glad to interweave your name, which I shall do frequently ; for it was by your last letter that I first understood you did not object to it. About Marcellus¹ I had before heard from Cassius ; and Servius sent me the particulars. What a sad affair !

¹⁰ Owing, I suppose, to his mother's family.

¹ See Letter x.

To come back to my first subject; there is no place, where I would rather have my writings remain, than with you. But I should like not to have them sent abroad, till we both approve of it. I exempt your clerks from all blame, and do not mean to find fault with you; notwithstanding what I wrote to you, that Cærelia had some, which she could only have had from you. I was aware of the propriety of gratifying Balbus;² I only wished that it might not be given to Brutus when it was grown stale, or to Balbus when it was imperfect. I will send the books to Varro, if you think it right, as soon as I have seen you. You shall know the cause of my hesitation when we meet. In calling upon the assignees, you have done quite right. I am sorry you should have so much trouble about your grandmother's estate. The case of our friend Brutus is very vexatious; but it is the condition of human life. The ladies³ are a little unreasonable in bearing such hostile dispositions, while neither of them are chargeable with dereliction of their duty. There was no occasion to call upon my secretary Tullius. If there had been, I would have sent you word. For nothing has been

² On account of his influence with Cæsar.

³ Meaning probably Servilia and Porcia, the mother and wife of Brutus.

deposited with him under the title of a vow ;⁴ though he has some money belonging to me, which I have determined to apply to this purpose. So that both I told you rightly where it was ; and he rightly denied having any thing under that title. But let us at once enter upon this business.⁵ For the consecration of men,⁶ I do not quite approve of a grove, because it is too unfrequented ; notwithstanding it has a reputation of sanctity. But this also shall be as you think proper ; for you are my guide in every thing. I shall be at Tusculum, as I appointed ;⁷ and I wish you could be there the same day. But if any thing should prevent you (as many things may), at least the next day, when the co-heirs are to come, by whom it would be cruel to be beset without you. Again another letter without a word about Attica ; but this I place among the best signs. I find fault with this ; not that you, but that she should not so much as send her compliments. But do you make my

⁴ To be applied to the discharge of a vow ; for such he considered his resolution of erecting a temple to his daughter. ⁵ The temple.

⁶ Though groves were often consecrated to heathen Gods, yet, in the case of deifying men, something more open to view was preferable.

⁷ July 7. See Letter XII.

very best compliments both to her, and to Pilia; do not however give a hint of my being offended. I send Cæsar's letter, in case you should not have read it.

LETTER XXIII.

To the letter, which I received from you yesterday in the forenoon, I immediately replied; I now answer that of the afternoon. I wish Brutus had rather sent for me; which was more reasonable, considering the sudden and distant journey upon which he was going; and, to say the truth, under our present feelings, when we are incapable of enjoying each other's society (for you know in what principally consists the pleasure of living together) I should readily have acceded to our meeting in Rome, rather than in Tusculanum. The books to Varro were no impediment; for they have been re-made,¹ as you have seen; they only wait to have the errors of the clerks corrected. You know my hesitation about these books;

¹ It being generally agreed that the word *defecti* must be erroneous, I have supposed, with the least alteration, that it ought to be *refecti*; a word sufficiently appropriate, if it is considered that the work had been altogether re-cast, the characters changed, and the number of books extended from two to four. See Letter XIII.

but you are answerable. Those, which I am to send to Brutus, are likewise in the hands of the transcribers. Get my business settled, as you mention; though Trebatius tells me they all make those deductions. What do you think these people will do? You are well acquainted with the house.² Conclude it then in affability. You cannot believe how much I disregard such concerns. I assure you in the most solemn manner, and would have you believe me, that my paltry possessions are more plague, than pleasure, to me; and that I am more distressed by having nobody³ on whom I should bestow them, than gratified by having them to use. Trebatius also said that he had mentioned the circumstance⁴ to you. But perhaps you were afraid I should be sorry to

² I leave this in its most literal translation in deference to the authority of those commentators who have supposed it related to some house, which was either part of the inheritance, or to be estimated in part of what was owing to Cicero; though my own judgment inclines me to think the word here means "family," and is to be understood of the people (*istos*) mentioned above, that is, of those from whom Cicero hoped to get his money, perhaps Oppius and Balbus, if they may be supposed to have been partners in a bank. It is evident they transacted money business for Cæsar; and their names are singularly blended together upon many occasions as co-agents.

³ Alluding to his daughter who had been in distress, and formerly wanted his assistance. See Book xi. Letter xx.

⁴ The deductions in payment.

hear it. That indeed was kindly intended; but, believe me, I do not now care about such matters. Therefore enter into negotiation, and clip it as you will, and make an end of it. Rouse them, call, speak to them, as if you thought you were speaking with that Scæva.⁵ Do not suppose, that they, who are in the habit of grasping at what does not belong to them, will remit any thing of their just dues.⁶ Take care only about the day;⁷ and even that with civility.

LETTER XXIV.

WHAT is this which I hear from Hermogenes Clodius, that Andromenes had told him he had seen Cicero¹ at Corcyra? For I suppose it must have been known to you.² Has he

⁵ It is uncertain who this is. The name occurs again Book xiv. Letter x. and is there supposed to signify one of Cæsar's soldiers who had enriched himself by the plunder of the opposite party. The sense seems to require that it be some person of more power, than principle.

⁶ Persons who have got money by unjustifiable means, will not relinquish justifiable advantages.

⁷ That the money may be ready at the time it is wanted.

¹ His son.

² Atticus having possessions in Corcyra, and frequent communication with that country.

then sent no letter even by him? Or has he not seen him? Let me know how this is. What more should I say to you about Varro? The four books are in your possession, and I shall be satisfied with whatever you do. I am restrained by no "respect for the Trojans;"³ why should I? I was rather afraid how well he might himself⁴ like it. But since you undertake it, I shall rest at ease.

LETTER XXV.

RESPECTING the deductions¹ I have already replied to your very accurate letter. You will make an end of it therefore, and without any hesitation, or revision. It is proper, and expedient, that this should be done. About Andromenes,² I had supposed it must be as you say: otherwise you would have known it, and mentioned it to me. While you write so much about Brutus, you say nothing of yourself.³ But when do you suppose he will come to Tus-

³ In the original is the same fragment of a verse so often quoted before. See Letter XIII. The meaning is, that he had no need to fear giving offence. ⁴ Varro.

¹ See Letter XXIII.

² See Letter XXIV.

³ That is of your coming to Tusculanum, as well as Brutus.

culanum? For on the 14th I am going to Rome. What I meant to say to Brutus (but what I perhaps expressed indistinctly, since you mention your having read it) was, that I had understood from your letter, that he wished to me not go up at this time merely for the sake of waiting upon him. But as the appointed time of my going⁴ is so near, I beg you will take care that this may be no impediment to his coming to Tusculanum for his own convenience. For I had no intention of calling upon him about the sale, since you alone are quite sufficient in a business of that kind. But I wanted him to attest my Will;⁵ which I should now prefer executing at another time, that I may not seem to have come to Rome for that purpose.⁶ I have accordingly written to Brutus, what I really thought, that there was no occasion for his being there on the 15th.⁷ I should be glad then if you would manage this whole business so, that I may not in the least interfere with Brutus's convenience. But what is it that you are at length afraid of,

⁴ To attend Brinnius's sale.

⁵ Wills were anciently performed with great solemnity. Taylor, C. L. p. 64.

⁶ That Brutus may not imagine I go up now expressly to get his attestation, and should therefore be disappointed if he were not to be there.

⁷ The day of Brinnius's sale. See Letter xxxiii.

because I desire the books to be given to Varro on your responsibility? Even now, if you have any doubt, let me know it. In elegance of style they have not been surpassed. I should like Varro, especially as he desires it; but he is, as you know, "a stern man, and one who might easily take exception without just cause."⁸ Accordingly I often picture to myself his countenance, complaining, it may be, that my part is more copiously defended in those books, than his; though you will perceive that this is not the case, if ever you get into Epirus, and have leisure to examine them. For at present I give way to your correspondence with Alexio.⁹ I do not however despair of their meeting with Varro's approbation; and after being at the expence of large paper,¹⁰ I shall not be sorry to have that design adhered to. But I say again and again, that it must be on your responsibility. Therefore if you have any hesitation, let us transfer it to Brutus; for he also is an Antiochian.¹¹ O variable Academy, and like itself; now here, now there.¹² But, pray, how did you like my

⁸ The original is taken from Homer.

⁹ Atticus's bailiff in Epirus.

¹⁰ A presentation copy written on large and handsome paper.

¹¹ See Letter XIX.

¹² He compares his own variableness in changing the

letter to Varro? May I die, if I ever study any work, as I have done this. I have not even dictated to Tiro, who is used to write down whole sentences; but to Spintherus, syllable by syllable.

N. B. The 26th Letter was before inserted in its proper place, after the 13d of Book 12.

LETTER XXVII.

RESPECTING the letter to Cæsar,¹ I was always of opinion that it ought first to be submitted to his friends. Otherwise I should have been not only wanting in attention to them, but should also have exposed myself to some danger, in case of his being offended with me. They have acted ingenuously; and I take it kindly that they have not concealed what they thought. Especially they have done well in suggesting so many alterations, that the writing it afresh is more than the occasion demands.

address, to the variable nature of the Academic philosophy, which he professed, ever bending to circumstances, and adopting probability in the place of fixed principles.

¹ See Book XII. Letter XI. This letter appears to have been a letter of advice on public affairs, which made Cicero anxious to have the approbation of some of Cæsar's party; by which is probably to be understood Balbus and Oppius, who were likewise friends to Cicero.

On the subject of the Parthian war, however, what ought I to have considered, but what I supposed him to wish? For what other argument could my letter admit, besides flattery? Had I wished to recommend what I thought best, should I have wanted matter? Therefore the whole letter is unnecessary. For where the advantage to be gained cannot be great; and a failure, even if it be not great, may be productive of vexation; what need is there of running the risk? Especially when I consider, that having written nothing before, he would expect that I should write nothing till the whole war was at an end. I am even apprehensive that he may imagine I wished this to be as a soother for my Cato.² In short, I repented of having written; and nothing could fall out more to my mind, than that my labour was not approved. Besides, I should have exposed myself to the calumnies of Cæsar's adherents, and among them to those of your relation.³ But I return⁴ to the subject of the

² To counteract any displeasure Cæsar might have conceived from Cicero's panegyric on Cato.

³ Young Quintus Cicero.

⁴ It may be observed that the expression of returning to the subject, is often used to mean, not returning to what had been said before in the same letter, but returning to any subject previously mentioned, especially if it be one of frequent recurrence.

gardens. I would by no means have you go thither but with perfect convenience to yourself. For there is no hurry. Whatever be the result, let us use our endeavours about Faberius. Respecting the day of sale however, when you know any thing, you will inform me. As the messenger, who came from Cumanum, reports that Attica is quite well, and says that he has a letter for you, I send him on to you without delay.

LETTER XXVIII.

As you were to inspect the gardens to-day; I shall hear to-morrow what you have thought of them. About Faberius you will let me know, when he is arrived. Respecting the letter to Cæsar, believe me when I swear that I cannot do it. Not that the baseness of it deters me; (though it ought exceedingly; for how base is flattery?) since it is base for me even to be alive. But, as I was saying, it is not this baseness, that deters me; I wish it was; for I should then be what I ought to be: but nothing occurs to my mind. For with regard to the exhortations of those eloquent and learned men¹ to Alexander, you see on what subjects

¹ Aristotle and Theopompus. See Book XII. Letter XL.

they are employed. They are addressed to a young man inflamed with the love of the truest glory, and asking for advice in the pursuit of lasting praise. It is easy to speak in an honorable cause. But what can I do? Yet I carved out from my wooden materials something that might look like an image; and in this because there were some things a little better, than what are doing, and have been done, they are censured. But I by no means regret this; for if that letter had been sent, believe me, I should be sorry for it. What? Do not you see how that very disciple of Aristotle, with all his understanding, and all his moderation, after he got the title of king, became haughty, cruel, intemperate? And do you suppose this man² from amidst his processions, the comrade of Quirinus,³ will be pleased with this temperate letter of mine? But let him rather want what is not written, than disapprove what is written. In short, as he pleases. That Archimedean problem,⁴ which once stimulated me, and which I referred to you, is past. Now indeed I wish for that

² Cæsar.

³ See Book XII. Letter XLVI.

⁴ This probably means the embarrassment in which he found himself upon his return to Italy after the defeat of Pompeius, of which he speaks so much in the XIth Book; when he doubted what steps he ought to take to conciliate Cæsar, and dreaded the effects of his displeasure.

issue, or any issue,⁵ much more ardently, than I formerly dreaded it. Unless something else prevent you, I shall be very glad to see you here. Nicias has been earnestly sent for by Dolabella, for I read the letter; and though it was against my inclination, yet it was at my instance that he went. This in my own hand.

LETTER XXIX.

WHILE I was inquiring of Nicias different things relating to literary people, I fell as it were by chance upon the subject of Talna.¹ He made no great account of his abilities, but said that he was modest and prudent. He added however, what I did not like, that he said he knew he had lately paid his addresses to Cornificia, the daughter of Quintus,² who was an old woman, and had been married several times; but the match was not approved by the ladies, who found out that his property

⁵ Banishment, or death, now appears more desirable to him, than a life of sorrow and dissatisfaction, after the loss of his daughter, and loss of the freedom of the state.

¹ It seems probable that this may have been somebody whom Atticus thought of as a husband for Attica.

² Quintus Cornificius.

did not exceed 800 Sestertia (£6400.). This I have thought it right you should know. I have learned about the gardens both from your letter, and from Chrysippus.³ In the house, with the dulness of which I was well acquainted, I understand there has been little, or no alteration. However, he speaks well of the larger bath, and says that out of the smaller may be constructed some winter apartments.⁴ A covered place for exercise must therefore be added; which, if it is made as large as that in Tusculanum, will not cost much more than half the price, in this place. But for that temple which I want, nothing seems more appropriate than the grove, with which I was formerly acquainted; but at that time it was little frequented; now I hear it is very much so: there is nothing that I should prefer to it. On this subject I entreat you to bear with my extravagance. It remains, that if Faberius pays me that debt, I would not have you make a question about the price. I would have you out-bid Otho. At the same time I do not suppose he will exceed the bounds of reason;

³ An architect under Cyrus, of whom mention was formerly made. See Book II. Letter III.

⁴ The ancient Romans used to have summer and winter apartments, the latter of which Plinius calls *hibernacula*. Ep. 2, 17.

for I think I know the man. But I hear he has been so roughly⁵ treated, that I do not think he will care to be a purchaser. What? Would he suffer?—But why do I reason about it? If you settle this Faberian account, let me have it though at a dear rate: if not, I must not think of it even at a cheap one. Let us try Clodia therefore, from whom I entertain hope, both on account of their being much cheaper, and because Dolabella's debt⁶ is on the point of being liquidated, so that I may trust to paying in ready money. Enough about the gardens. To-morrow I hope to see you, unless some business prevent; which I wish may be Faberius's. However, if you can.

LETTER XXX.

I RETURN you Cicero's¹ letter. O hard-hearted man, who are not moved with his dangers!² He accuses me also. I should have sent you his letter;³ for as to the other respecting his

⁵ It is uncertain to what rough treatment Cicero refers.

⁶ Due to Cicero.

¹ Young Quintus's. See Letter II.

² This is said ironically of the dangers he had magnified in his campaign with Cæsar in Spain.

³ Cicero would have sent Quintus's letter to Atticus, if he had not seen that which Atticus had himself received.

achievements, I take it to be a copy of yours. I have sent a messenger to Cumanum to day, to whom I have entrusted your letter to Vestorius, which was brought by Pharnaces. I had just dispatched Demea to you, when Eros arrived. But there was no news in the letter he brought, excepting that the sale⁴ would be in two days. Therefore after that,⁵ as you mention; and I wish the Faberian business may previously have been settled. Eros says he⁶ will not come to day; but thinks he may to-morrow morning. You must pay him attention; though such flattery is not far removed from guilt. I shall hope to see you the day after to-morrow. Find out, if you can, who were the ten commissioners sent to Mummius.⁷ Polybius does not mention their names. I remember only the Consular Albinus, and Sp. Mummius, and think I have heard Hortensius name Tuditanus. But in Libo's annals it appears that Tuditanus was made Prætor 14 years after Mummius's Consulship; which does not accord. I think of writing some Political Congress, supposed to be held at Olympia, or where you will, after the manner of your friend Dicæarchus.

⁴ Can this mean the sale of Scapula's gardens?

⁵ After the sale you will come to me.

⁶ Faberius.

⁷ See Letters iv. and vi.

LETTER XXXI.

ON the morning of the 28th I received from Demea¹ a letter dated the day before, by which I might expect you either to day, or tomorrow. But I apprehend that longing, as I do, for your arrival, I shall myself be the occasion of stopping you. For I cannot suppose the Faberian business will be so soon dispatched (even if it is in train) but that it will meet with some impediment. When you are at liberty therefore;² as you are still likely to be kept. I shall be glad if you will send me the books of Dicæarchus, which you mention, and likewise his *καταξασις*.³ About the letter to Cæsar I am quite determined. And the very thing, which they say he mentions in his letter; that he will not go against the Parthians till affairs at home are settled; is the same that I advised in my letter. But were it otherwise;

¹ It appears by the preceding letter that Cicero had sent this Demea before to Atticus, and it is to be supposed that he brought back a letter from Atticus to Cicero, which is that spoken of. The expression of the text is liable to the same ambiguity as that in the translation.

² The sense is obvious, that he wished Atticus to come to him as soon as he was at liberty. I have thought the conclusion of the sentence was sufficiently clear, without adding to the original.

³ Meaning his book upon the descent into Trophonius's cave, which was before mentioned. See Book VI. Letter II.

whichever he chose to do, he might, with my consent. For does he wait for this forsooth? And will he do nothing but by my advice? Let us, I beseech you, have done with this, and be at least half-free; which we may yet be by saying nothing, and keeping quiet. But speak to Otho, as you propose; and make an end, my Atticus, of that business.⁴ For I can find no other place, where I can be with you, and yet not be in the forum. With regard to the price, this has occurred to me. C. Albanus is the nearest neighbour; who bought of M. Pilius 1000 acres, as well as I remember, for 11,500 Sestertia⁵ (£92,000.); and every thing is now lower. But my wishes are to be taken into the account; in which I am likely to have no rival, besides Otho. Even upon him you will be able to make some impression; and the easier, if you have the assistance of Canus. O silly gluttony!⁶ Let him suppose that I maintain the sternness of a father.⁷ You will reply to his letter, if there is any thing you wish to say.

⁴ Of the gardens.

⁵ I conceive the figures ought to be interpreted *Centies decies quinquies*. See Book I. Letter II. n. 1.

⁶ This probably alludes to some account, received through Atticus, of his son's expensive living.

⁷ That is, *Pulet me patris tueri partes*. At that time parents used great severity towards their children; for whom Plutarch therefore recommends the interference of an uncle. *περι φιλαδελφίας* near the end.

LETTER XXXII.

HAVING received a second letter from you to day, I did not care to leave you with only one in return. Do as you mention in regard to Faberius; for on him depends the whole success of my design. Had not this design been in agitation, (believe me in this, as in every thing else) I should not trouble myself. Therefore, as you do (for nothing can exceed this) urge, insist, accomplish. I should be glad if you would send me both books of Dicæarchus on the Soul, and likewise that on the Descent.¹ I do not find his Tripoliticon, or the letter which he sent to Aristoxenus. I now particularly want those² three books; they would be convenient for the subject³ which I have in contemplation. The Torquatus⁴ is at Rome: I have desired it may be sent to you. The Catulus and Lucullus⁵ I imagine you have had

¹ Entitled *καταβασις*, or the Descent into the cave of Trophonius. See Letter xxxi.

² The two Treatises on the Soul, and that upon the Descent.

³ Probably his Tusculan Questions.

⁴ A treatise of Cicero's so called from Torquatus being the principal character named in it; perhaps the first book of his Treatise De Finibus. See Letter v.

⁵ The original names of two books of his Academics. See Letter xii.

before; but I have made new introductions to these books, which I wish you to have, containing an eulogium upon each of these persons; and there are some other additions. You have not quite understood what I wrote to you about the ten commissioners; which I suppose was owing to my writing by abbreviations. For I meant to inquire about C. Tuditanus, who I heard from Hortensius had been one of the ten. But in Libo's annals I see that he was Prætor in the Consulship of P. Popilius and P. Rupilius. Could he then have been a commissioner 14 years before he was Prætor? Unless indeed he became Quæstor extremely late, which I do not think was the case; for I observe that he had no difficulty in taking the Curule⁶ offices at the regular times. I knew that Posthumius was one of them, whose statue you say you remember at the Isthmus. It is he, who was with Lucullus; for whom I have to thank you, as a very proper personage at that congress.⁷ You will find out then the others, if you can; that I may have a splendid assemblage of characters.

⁶ The Prætors, Consuls, Censors, and chief Ediles were allowed to use particular carriages *currus*, from whence they were called Curule offices.

⁷ Which Cicero proposed to introduce in some new treatise. See Letter xxx.

LETTER XXXIII.

STRANGE negligence! Can you suppose that Balbus and Faberius had ever once told me the declaration¹ was given in? Moreover, it was by their direction that I sent up on purpose to make my declaration, which they said it was proper to do. It was made by the freedman Philotimus. I believe you are acquainted with the clerk:² but you will write to him, and that, without delay. I have sent a letter to Faberius, as you advise; and imagine you will have had some communication with Balbus to day in the Capitol. I have no scruple in regard to Virgilius.³ I have no reason for it on his own account; and if I should purchase, of what will he have to complain? But you must take care, that being in Africa

¹ A declaration of each person's property was given in to the Censors every fifth year; and in the interval, every new accession was registered by the Prætor. The declaration here spoken of may probably relate to some assignment of Faberius's property to Cicero.

² The secretary whose business it was to receive the declaration.

³ Virgilius, one of the co-heirs of Scapula, appears to have been in Africa in support of Pompeius's party, in consequence of which it is probable his share may have been confiscated.

he does not act the same part as Cælius.⁴ You will see about the account with Crispus.⁵ But if Plancus thinks of it,⁶ there may be some difficulty. You and I are both of us desirous that you should come to me; but this business must not be left. This is indeed good news, that you hope Otho may be gained.⁷ Respecting the valuation, as you say, when we have entered upon the negotiation; though his letter only relates to the quantity of land. Conclude with Piso,⁸ if you can. I have received Di-cæarchus's book, and expect the *καταβασις*. Give instructions to somebody about the commissioners.⁹ He will find it in the book which contains the Decrees of the Senate in the Consulate of Cn. Cornelius and L. Mummius. Your conjecture about Tuditanus is very probable; that, as he was at Corinth, (for Hortensius did not mention it inconsiderately) he was then either Quæstor, or Military Tribune; and I rather suppose this to have been the case. You will be able to ascertain this from Antiochus. Learn also in what year he was Quæstor, or Military Tribune. If neither agrees; then,

⁴ In surrendering upon condition of recovering his property. This Cælius is supposed to be a different person from him mentioned in Letter III.

⁵ Mentioned in Book XII. Letter XXIV.

⁶ Designs to purchase the gardens.

⁷ See Letter XXXI.

⁸ See Book XII. Letter V.

⁹ Whose names he wished to know. See Letter XXX.

whether he was in the number of the lieutenants, or of the pages;¹⁰ provided he was in that war at all. I was speaking of Varro, and behold the Wolf in the fable.¹¹ For he came to me, and at such a time, that I invited him to stay; but did not use so much violence as to tear his coat;¹² for I remember that expression of yours; and they were a large company, and I was not prepared. Nevertheless soon after came C. Capito with T. Carrinas. Their coats I scarcely touched;¹³ yet they stayed, and it fell out very well. But Capito by chance entered upon the subject of enlarging the city;¹⁴ that the Tiber was to be brought from the Mulvian bridge at the foot of the Vatican hills; that the Campus Martius was to be built up, and the Vatican plain to be converted into another Campus Martius. What do you say? cried I. I am going to the auction, that if I can with propriety, I may purchase Scapula's Gardens. Take care not to do it, says he; for the law will certainly be carried, as it is Cæsar's wish. I heard him very patiently, but should be sorry to have it take place. But what say

¹⁰ Young men of family who went for instruction in the suite of the Provincial Governors.

¹¹ As he spake of him, in he came.

¹² I suppose this to allude to some joking expression formerly used by Atticus.

¹³ He did not press them to stay. ¹⁴ See Letter xx.

you? You know Capito's diligence in seeking out news. He is not inferior to Camillus. Let me hear about the business of the 15th;¹⁵ for it is that, which brings me up. I had likewise some other affairs, which however I can easily transact two or three days later. But I by no means wish you to be harrassed with travelling. I also forgive Dionysius. As to what you say about Brutus, I have set him quite at liberty, as far as relates to me; for I wrote to him yesterday to say that I had no occasion for his assistance on the 15th.¹⁶

LETTER XXXIV.

I CAME to Astura the 25th,¹ having stopt three hours at Lanuvium to avoid the heat. I should be glad if you could without much trouble get me excused from going to Rome before the 5th;² which you can do through Egnatius. But above all, my principal³ concern is, that

¹⁵ See Letter xxv.

¹⁶ In the text is Idib. Mai., but it has justly been suspected that this is an error, or false interpolation. The month intended was probably July, the time of Brinnius's sale.

¹ Probably in July after, his return from Arpinum.

² Of August.

³ I prefer the making *Maximum* begin the sentence; for Cicero no where else joins it with Egnatius.

you should complete the arrangement with Publilius⁴ while I may be considered as absent. Write me word what is said about this. "As if the people cared forsooth."⁵ In truth I apprehend not; for it is an old story. But I wanted to fill the page. Why should I say more? as I shall presently be with you, unless you put it off. For I have already written to you on the subject of the gardens.

LETTER XXXV.

O DISGRACEFUL circumstance! Your namesake¹ is enlarging the city, which he never saw till within these two years, and which he thinks too little even to hold him. I expect to hear from you upon this subject. You say that you will present the books² to Varro as soon as he arrives. He has got them then by this time, and all doubt is at an end. Ah! if you could

⁴ Respecting his divorce from Publilia, and the repayment of her dower.

⁵ A well known expression in the *Andria* of Terentius.

¹ This was probably some surveyor, at whose suggestion Cæsar may have thought of extending the city.

² The *Academics* addressed to Varro. Which, though done at Atticus's suggestion, yet Atticus seems to have been afraid of recommending. See Letter xxv.

know what risk you run!³ unless my letter has perhaps stopt you. But you had not received it when you wrote last. I am anxious to know therefore how the affair stands.

LETTER XXXVI.

THOUGH what you tell me of Brutus's affection, and your walk together, is nothing new; but the very same, that I have often heard before; yet the oftener, the more agreeable. And it is the more gratifying to me, because you take pleasure in it; and the more certain, because it comes from you.

LETTER XXXVII.

I SEND you this second letter to day. Nothing can be more convenient, or more suitable, than what you mention about Xeno's debt, and the 40 Sestertia (£300.) from Epirus.¹

³ Said in pleasant mockery of his friend's timidity.

¹ This money due to Atticus from his estates in Epirus, and a debt from Xeno at Athens (Book v. Letter x), was proposed to be transferred to young Cicero in Athens, and repaid by his father at Rome.

The younger Balbus spake of that business² to me in the same manner. There is nothing new, but that Hirtius disputed sharply with Quintus³ in my behalf; while he⁴ continued every where, and especially in company, to utter many calumnies first about me, then about his own father. But nothing of what he said was so plausible, as that we were both exceedingly hostile towards Cæsar; that we were not to be trusted; and that I was even to be guarded against. It was quite formidable; but that I knew our king was aware of my having no spirit left. He said too that I was severe towards my son Cicero; but of that as he pleases. I am glad I gave to Lepta's messenger my panegyric on Porcia⁵ before I received your letter. You will take care therefore, if you have any regard for me, that if it is sent to Domitius and Brutus, it may be sent in this form.⁶ You will continue to give me daily information about the Gladiators,⁷ and

² The calumnies of young Quintus, who was with the army in Spain. See Book XII. Letter XXXVIII.

³ The nephew.

⁴ Quintus.

⁵ Cato's sister, who had lately died. She was mother to Domitius. See Letter XLVIII. which should have preceded this.

⁶ In the corrected form in which Cicero had sent it previously to his hearing from Atticus on the subject.

⁷ To be exhibited upon Cæsar's return from Spain.

other subjects that are blown about, as you call it. I should be glad, if you think well of it, that you would call upon Balbus and Offilius about advertising the sale.⁸ I spake to Balbus myself, who agreed to it. I imagine Offilius has a written account of all the property. Balbus has also. But Balbus wished for an early day, and at Rome; if Cæsar's arrival should be delayed, the day might be put off. But he seems to be just here. Therefore take the whole into consideration; for Vestorius has signified his acquiescence.⁹

LETTER XXXVIII.

As I was writing before dawn against the Epicureans,¹ by the same lamp and labor² I scrawled something to you, and sent it before

⁸ It is not certain what sale is here intended; possibly that of Cluvius's property. See Letter xlv. Balbus probably acted as Cæsar's agent.

⁹ That is, his readiness to have it take place at an early day.

¹ The 2d book of his Tusculan Questions, on which he was at this time engaged.

² Writing before it was light, he of course wrote by a lamp. The expression "lamp and labor" was familiar to the Romans; and though not so in English, it seemed desirable nevertheless to preserve it in the translation.

it was light. Afterwards, having slept again, when I got up at sun rise, I received a letter from your sister's son,³ which I send you. The beginning of it is very reproachful; but perhaps "he did it without consideration."⁴ It runs thus; "I am sorry for every thing that "can be said discredibly of you." Meaning that many things might be said against me, though he professed not to approve it. Can any thing be more foul? But you shall read the rest, and judge for yourself; for I enclose it to you. You mentioned sometime since, that he was struck with the daily and continual commendations of our friend Brutus, such as many persons have told me he bestows upon me. He⁵ has said something about it to me, and I imagine to you, which you will let me know. What he may have written to his father about me, I cannot tell. But observe how dutifully he speaks of his mother: "In order," says he, "that I might be with you⁶ as much as possible, "I wished to have a house hired for me, and "so I told you; but you have not done it; so "that we shall be less together. For I cannot

³ Quintus.

⁴ I suspect the Greek expression in the original to be taken from some former letter of Atticus written in extenuation of his nephew's misconduct.

⁵ Quintus the younger.

⁶ His father, to whom this letter was written.

“bear to see that house; you know why.” The reason his father gives is his aversion to his mother. Now help me, my Atticus, with your advice. “Shall I mount the lofty wall “of justice?”⁷ that is, shall I openly spurn him, and cast him off? “Or shall I use the “crooked paths of dissimulation?” For I may add with Pindar—“to say the truth, my “mind is divided.” The former is more suitable to my disposition; but perhaps the latter to the times. Whatever be your opinion, be assured that mine is the same. I am most apprehensive of his intruding upon me in Tusculanum. It would be easier managed in a greater concourse. Shall I remove then to⁸ Astura? What if Cæsar should suddenly arrive? Help me, I beseech you, with your advice. I will do as you determine.

LETTER XXXIX.

O VANITY beyond belief!¹ To tell his father that he must absent himself from home on account of his mother? How dutiful! But his father already relaxes, and says that his son

⁷ Taken from Pindar, and quoted more at length by Plato in his Republic.

⁸ To be out of Quintus's way.

¹ I have supposed it ought to be written *incredibilem*.

had reason to be angry with him. I will, however, follow your advice; for I see you prefer the crooked.² I will go to Rome, as you recommend, though against my inclination; for I am deeply engaged in writing. By the same opportunity, you say, I shall see Brutus. But were it not for that other reason,³ this circumstance⁴ would not bring me up. For he does not come from whence I could wish;⁵ nor has he been long absent; or ever written to me. But yet I want to know how his journey has turned out.⁶ I should be glad if you would send me the books, which I before mentioned to you; especially those of Phædrus entitled *Περὶ σσων* and *Ἑλλάδος*.⁷

² This relates to the crooked paths of dissimulation mentioned in the preceding letter.

³ To avoid encountering his nephew in Tusculanum.

⁴ The meeting Brutus.

⁵ Cicero did not approve of Brutus's paying court to Cæsar by going so far to attend him on his return to Rome.

⁶ One object of his journey seems to have been the obtaining the Prætorship through Cæsar's favor.

⁷ Commentators are not agreed about the text, and it is in vain to conjecture what these books might be.

LETTER XL.

DOES Brutus say this; that Cæsar brings good tidings to worthy people? But where will he find them? Unless perhaps he hangs himself.¹ But here what support he meets with! Where then is that device of yours, which I saw in the Parthenon,² of Ahala and Brutus? But what can he do? I am pleased with what follows;³ that not even he,⁴ who has been the source of all our offences, thinks well of our nephew. I had feared that even Brutus might entertain affection for him. For so he intimated in the letter he wrote in reply to mine. I wish he⁵ had tasted some of his⁶ stories. But, as you say, when we meet. Yet what do you advise? that I should go up? or stay? To

¹ This may probably allude to something previously said by Atticus. It appears to be meant of Cæsar, who having occasioned the death of so many good citizens, could only find in the regions of the dead any deserving that name.

² It seems most probable that this may mean some library, or gallery, belonging to Brutus, so called from the temple at Athens, and in which he might, by the advice of Atticus, have placed statues, or pictures, of his ancestors Brutus and Ahala, the assertors of their country's liberty, the first against Tarquinius, the second against Q. Melius.

³ In Atticus's letter.

⁴ Cæsar.

⁵ Brutus.

⁶ Quintus's stories against Cicero.

say the truth I am both entangled in my books, and unwilling to receive him⁷ here. I understand his father is gone to day to meet him at the Acronoman rocks.⁸ It is surprizing how angry he went ; so that I was obliged to check him. But I am myself easily changed. Therefore I must hereafter take care how I conduct myself.⁹ But consider what you think of my going up ; and, if it can be clearly seen to-morrow, let me be informed of every thing early in the morning.¹⁰

LETTER XLI.

I HAVE sent to Quintus the letter for your sister. Upon his complaining of the quarrel between young Quintus and his mother (on which account he told his son that he would

⁷ Quintus.

⁸ The text is uncertain, and the place unknown.

⁹ So I conceive the sentence ought to be completed ; meaning that he must be careful how he reproached his nephew, whom he might soon after have occasion to defend, as in the present instance.

¹⁰ Early on the day after to-morrow. He wanted to receive from Atticus an early account of every thing relating to Cæsar's approach, that he might regulate his measures accordingly.

remove from his house¹) I mentioned that he had written a very proper letter to his mother, but none to you. He was surprized at the first circumstance; but with regard to you, he said the fault rested with himself, as he had repeatedly written to his son in terms of severity respecting your unkindness towards him. But upon his saying that he relented, I told him (after reading your letter recommending² dissimulation) that I should not be angry with him. For then came on the mention of Cana.³ And indeed, if that proposal should be adopted, it⁴ became necessary. But, as you observe, some attention must be paid to our own dignity; and we ought both to be in the same mind; though his offence towards me is the greater, and more notorious. But if Brutus brings any thing conciliatory, we must not hesitate. When we meet however. For it is a thing of some moment, and requires caution. To-morrow therefore;⁵ unless I receive from you some further leave⁶ of absence.

¹ See Letter xxxvii.

² See Letter xxxviii.

³ To be proposed as a match for Quintus.

⁴ It was necessary to dissemble his displeasure.

⁵ I shall see you in Rome.

⁶ Some intimation that I need not so soon go up to Rome. See Letter xliii.

LETTER XLII.

HE¹ came to me, and was very much dejected; upon which I said, but what makes you so thoughtful? Do you ask, says he, one who has a journey to perform; and a journey to the war; and that a dangerous, and a disgraceful one?² What then obliges you to go, said I? My debts, he replied; and yet I have not even enough to support me on the road. In this place I borrowed something from your eloquence, and held my tongue. But, he went on to say, I am most of all vexed about my Uncle. On what account, said I? Because, says he, he is angry with me. Why do you suffer it, I said? (For I chose rather to say so, than, why do you give occasion for it?) I will not suffer it, says he; for I will remove the cause of it. You do rightly, said I; but if it is not troublesome, I should be glad to know what the cause may be. Because, whilst I was deliberating whom I should marry, I did not satisfy my mother, and so did not satisfy him. But at present there is nothing I so much wish;³ and am ready to do what they

¹ Young Quintus.

² Against the Parthians, by whom Crassus had been defeated and slain.

³ As to give them satisfaction.

desire. I hope it will turn out well, said I, and I commend you. But how soon? I am indifferent about the time, said he, since I approve of the thing. But I think, said I, that it should be before you set out; for so you will give satisfaction also to your father. I will do, says he, as you advise. So ended this dialogue. But hearken you; you recollect that my birth day is the 3d of January; you will accordingly be with me. Just as I had finished my letter, see here, Lepidus begs me to come up. I imagine the Augurs have nothing to do in the way of consecrating a temple. But let us go.⁴ I shall therefore see you.

LETTER XLIII.

I SHALL certainly avail myself of this delay of a day; and you have done very kindly to let me know it; and in such a manner, as to write yourself immediately from the sports, and to let me get your letter at a time when I did not expect it. I have indeed some business to transact in Rome, but I can do it two days later.

⁴ Here follow two Greek words, probably corrupted, and rendered little more intelligible by the conjectures of Commentators.

LETTER XLIV.

YOUR letter was most pleasing, however unpleasant the circumstances of the procession.¹ But yet it is not unpleasant to know every thing, even that affair of Cotta.² The populace indeed behaved nobly in giving no applause even to the statue of Victory, on account of its bad neighbour.³ Brutus has been with me, and wished me very much to write something to Cæsar; to which I agreed; but on condition that he would see the procession.⁴ And have you ventured to present the books to Varro?⁵ I am anxious to know what he may think of them. But when will he read

¹ The procession here spoken of seems to have been that called Circensian, exhibited in the Circus Maximus, where the images of the Gods were drawn along with great pomp, previously to the exhibition of the Games. On this occasion Cæsar's image was also drawn next to that of Victory, by an adulatory decree of the Senate.

² It is supposed that Cotta, even at this time, began to speak of making Cæsar a king, on pretence of some obscure prophecy that the Parthians could only be conquered by a King.

³ Cæsar.

⁴ From which he would be able to judge how high Cæsar was raised above the level of any modest address. See Letter xxviii.

⁵ See Letter xxv.

them? I quite approve of your conduct about Attica.⁶ It is something to have the mind elevated with the sight, as well as with the awe and celebrity of the ceremony. I should be glad if you would send me Cotta.⁷ Libo I have with me; and I had Casca before. Brutus has informed me upon the authority of T. Ligarius, that the naming of L. Curfidius in the Ligarian speech is my mistake; but, as they say, an error of memory. I knew that Curfidius was very intimate with the family of Ligarius; but I see that he had died previously. Therefore give instructions to Pharnaces, Antæus, and Salvius,⁸ to erase that name from all the copies.

LETTER XLV.

LAMIA was with me after you left me; and he brought me a letter he had received from Cæsar, which, though it was dated antece-

⁶ In taking her to the Circensian Procession.

⁷ Cotta, Libo, and Casca, here mentioned, seem to mean certain works of which they were respectively the authors; as we say familiarly Locke, or Pope, meaning the books written by them.

⁸ Atticus's librarians, or clerks.

dently to that of Diochares,¹ yet plainly declared his intention of coming before the Roman games.² At the end of it he desired that Lamia³ would make every preparation for the games, so that he might not hurry up to no purpose. By this letter there seemed to be no doubt of his arriving before that time; and Lamia said that Balbus, upon reading that letter, was of the same opinion. I find I have some additional holidays;⁴ but how many, do, if you love me, let me know. You will be able to learn from Bæbius, or from your other neighbour Egnatius. When you exhort me to employ those days in expounding philosophy, you urge one who is already running. But you perceive that I must spend that time with Dolabella. Were I not detained by Torquatus's business,⁵ I should be able to run down to Puteoli,⁶ and return in time. Lamia, it seems,

¹ A freedman of Cæsar. See Book XI. Letter VI.

² These began September 4.

³ Lamia was at this time *Ædile*, to which office was attached the care of the public games.

⁴ That the necessary time of his going to Rome was postponed.

⁵ It has appeared by some former letters that Cicero wanted to serve his friend Torquatus through the influence of Dolabella. See Letter IX.

⁶ To take possession of part of Cluvius's property to which he had succeeded. See Letter XLVI.

had heard from Balbus that there was a large sum of money in the house,⁷ which ought to be divided as soon as possible. I wish you would write me word what you think best to be done. For my own part, if I had to choose out of all, I could not easily find any body more diligent, or more ready, or more friendly towards me, than Vestorius; to whom I have written very particularly, and imagine that you have done the same. This appears to me sufficient. What say you? For the only thing I am afraid of is, that I may seem too negligent. I shall therefore hope to hear from you.

LETTER XLVI.

POLLEX¹ told me he would be back by the 13th of August, and accordingly came to me at Lanuvium the 12th. But he is rightly called Pollex, not Index.² You will learn therefore

⁷ Cluvius's house.

¹ This appears to have been one of Cicero's Messengers. See Book xi. Letter iv.; perhaps the same, who in Book viii. Letter v. is called Pollux.

² *Pollex* in Latin signifies the thumb; *index* the forefinger. *Index* likewise signifies one who gives information. Cicero, by saying he was no index, insinuates that he brought little information.

from himself. I called upon Balbus: for Lepta, who was anxious about the games,³ brought me to him by force, in that Lanuvian villa, which he has given up to Lepidus. From him the first thing I heard was this—"A little while ago I received that letter, in which he strongly confirms his intention of returning before the Roman games." I read the letter. There is a great deal about my Cato,⁴ from the repeated perusal of which he says that he is grown more copious; whilst from the reading of Brutus's Cato he appears to himself eloquent. From him⁵ I learned the inheritance of Cluvius's property. O negligent Vestorius! A free⁶ inheritance, before witnesses,⁷ within sixty days. I was afraid it would be necessary to send for him.⁸ Now I must send to desire he will accept by my order. This same Pollex may therefore return.⁹ I have also had some liberal conversation with Balbus about Cluvius's gardens, in which

³ He wanted to have the charge of the games to be celebrated in honor of Cæsar's return.

⁴ His panegyric upon Cato. Brutus likewise published something on the subject of his uncle Cato.

⁵ Balbus.

⁶ A free inheritance might probably mean one unincumbered with conditions.

⁷ It was to be accepted before witnesses.

⁸ Vestorius.

⁹ To Puteoli.

he promised to write to Cæsar immediately. He said that Cluvius had charged Titus Hordeonius with a legacy of 50,000 Sestertii (£400.) to Terentia, with the expence of a monument, and several other things ; but that there was no charge upon me. Pray, gently reprove Vestorius. What can be more discreditable, than that Plotius the perfumer should so long before have informed Balbus of every thing by his slaves ; and that he¹⁰ should not have informed me even by my own. I am sorry for Cossinius, for I had a great regard for him. If any thing should remain after paying my debts, and my purchases, I will send it to Quintus ; but I apprehend these will oblige me even to contract new ones. I know nothing about the house at Arpinum.

There is no occasion for your accusing Vestorius. For after I had sealed this letter, my messenger arrived in the night, and brought me a letter from him written with great exactness, and likewise a copy of the Will.

¹⁰ Vestorius.

LETTER XLVII.

As soon as your servant Agamemno touched upon the subject, not of my going up, (though I would have done that also, if it had not been for Torquatus), but of my writing; I immediately stopped my business, laid aside what I had in hand, and have executed what you desired. I shall be glad to have you made acquainted with the account of my expences¹ through Pollex. For it would not be creditable to me to leave him² in distress this first year, whatever may have been his conduct. Afterwards I shall regulate matters more carefully. This same Pollex must be sent back to accept³ on my behalf. It was impossible for me to go to Puteoli,⁴ as well for the reasons I mentioned to you,⁵ as on account of Cæsar's approach. Dolabella writes word that he will come to me the 14th. How irksome is it to be subject to a master!⁶ Yesterday evening Lepidus

¹ The expences he had been at for his son at Athens.

² Cicero's son.

³ To accept formally Cluvius's bequest. See Letter XLVI.

⁴ The seat of Cluvius's estate.

⁵ Respecting Torquatus. See Letter XLV.

⁶ This has been variously interpreted. I understand it to be expressive of his indignation at being obliged to

wrote to me from Antium, where he was staying; for he has the house which I sold. He requests me with great earnestness to attend the Senate on the first; that I should greatly oblige both himself, and Cæsar. I imagine it is nothing: else Oppius would probably have said something to you. For Balbus is ill. However, I would rather go up to no purpose; than be away, if there should be any real occasion. I should be sorry for it afterwards. Therefore to day I shall be at Antium; to-morrow before noon I shall reach home.⁷ If nothing prevents you, I wish you and Pilia would dine with me on the 31st. I hope you have settled every thing with Publilius.⁸ I shall run back to Tusculanum on the 1st; for I would rather every thing should be arranged with them⁹ in my absence. I send you my brother Quintus's letter; not a very kind reply to mine; but yet such as may give you satisfaction, so far as I can judge. You will see.

submit to the directions of Dolabella, and Lepidus, in order to conciliate Cæsar's favor.

⁷ By home, he here, and elsewhere, means his house in Rome.

⁸ Brother to Cicero's second wife. See Letter xxxiv.

⁹ The family of Publilia, respecting the repayment of her dower.

LETTER XLVIII.

YESTERDAY in the midst of noise¹ I fancy I heard something about your coming to Tusculanum; which I wish, and wish again; yet with your own convenience. Lepta requests that, if his affairs demand it, I will go up; for Babullius is dead. Cæsar, I believe, inherits one twelfth, though nothing has yet transpired. Lepta succeeds to a third; but he is afraid he may not be allowed to take possession of the inheritance. There is no reason for this; but however he is afraid. If therefore he sends for me, I shall hasten up; else I shall not go before it is necessary. Send back Pollex as soon as you can. I have sent you the panegyric on Porcia² corrected; and I have done it the sooner, that if it should happen to be sent to her son Domitius, or to Brutus, it may be sent in this form. If you can conveniently do it. I should be greatly obliged to you to attend to this; and I wish you would send me the panegyric³ of M. Varro, and of Lollius, especially Lollius's, for the other I have read, yet I want to look at it again; for there are some parts which I hardly recollect.

¹ At Rome.² See Letter xxxvii.³ Likewise upon Porcia.

LETTER XLIX.

I MUST first send my compliments to Attica,¹ who, I suppose, is in the country: then give my best compliments to Pilia likewise. Let me hear of Tigellius, if there is any thing new; for, as Gallus Fabius informs me, he brings against me a most unjust charge of having deserted Phamea, after undertaking his cause. This I undertook, not with my good liking, against the young Octavius's, the sons of Cnæus; but I agreed to it out of regard to Phamea. For, if you remember, he had promised me through you, to assist me in my canvas for the Consulship, if there should be any occasion; which I looked upon in the same light, as if I had actually made use of him. He came to me, and said that the judge had appointed to hear his cause on the very day, when it was necessary for me to attend the council about my friend Sestius by the Pompeian law. For you know the days for those judgments are fixed. I replied that he could not be ignorant of my obligations to Sestius; that if he had taken any other day whatever,

¹ The particular occasion of this appears, by Letter L., to have been Attica's recovery from some illness, on which he congratulates both her and her mother.

I would not fail him. Upon this he went away angry. I believe I told you about it. However I did not make myself uneasy, nor did I think it necessary to pay attention to the unmerited displeasure of one, with whom I was unconnected. I mentioned however to Gallus, when I was lately at Rome, what I had heard, but without naming the younger Balbus.² Gallus, as he writes word, had some business of his own. He says that Tigellius suspects me of having injured him from a consciousness of infidelity towards Phamea. I therefore send you this detail, that, if you can, you may learn something about this friend³ of mine. Do not be in any trouble about me:⁴ it is well, if any body be allowed to hate at his own free will;⁵ it has an appearance of not being entirely slaves. Though indeed, as you perceive, those people⁶ are rather slaves to me, if paying attention be the test of servitude.

² From whom it is to be presumed that Cicero had heard of something said, or done, unkindly by Tigellius towards him.

³ This seems to me to mean Tigellius, and is to be understood sneeringly.

⁴ Tigellius was a singer in the train of Cæsar. Cicero says that he had nothing to apprehend from his hostility.

⁵ That any one, as Tigellius, should be permitted to love, or hate, but at his master's will.

⁶ Cæsar's followers, in imitation of their leader, paid great attention to Cicero

LETTER L.

HAVING been advised in some of your letters, to write to Cæsar in a more copious manner; and having lately understood from Balbus in Lanuvium, that he and Oppius had written to Cæsar, and informed him of my having read and greatly commended his book against Cato; I have written a letter to Cæsar, on the subject of this book, to be delivered to Dolabella. But I sent a copy of it to Oppius and Balbus, and have desired them not to let my letter be delivered to Dolabella, unless they approve of the copy. They have replied to me, that they never read any thing better, and they ordered the letter to be given to Dolabella. Vestorius has written to me to direct the Brinnian estate¹ to be surrendered on my part to one Hetereius, his servant; in order that he² might himself properly surrender to him³ that⁴ at Puteoli. If you approve of this, send that servant to me. I imagine Vestorius will also have written to you. On the subject of Cæsar's coming, I have heard from Oppius and Balbus the same as from you. I am surprised you should yet have had no communication with Tigellius, if

¹ See Letter xiv.² Vestorius.³ Hetereius.⁴ Bluvius's estate. See Letter xlv.

it be only to know how much he has received.⁵ I am curious to know, though I care not a farthing. You ask what I think about going to meet him :⁶ what think you of my going as far as Alsium ? I have even written to Muræna about receiving me ; but I apprehend he is gone forward with Matius. I shall therefore apply to Sallustius. Just as I had written this last line, Eros has informed me that Muræna made him the kindest answer. I shall therefore lodge with him ; for Silius has no beds ; and Dida, I believe, has his house quite full.

LETTER LI.

I FORGOT to send you a copy of my letter to Cæsar ; which was not, as you suspect, because I was ashamed of your seeing it, lest in ridicule I should be called Micillus.¹ In faith, I have written no otherwise than to one on a par and equality ; for I think well of that book,² as I told you in person. I wrote therefore without flattery, and yet so, that I think he will read

⁵ From Cæsar.

⁶ Cæsar, who was on his return from Spain.

¹ The meaning of this is not exactly known. It probably alludes to some story that has since been lost.

² Cæsar's *Anti-Cato*. See Letter L.

nothing with more pleasure. I am now at length satisfied about Attica: therefore congratulate her again. Tell me all about Tigellius, and as soon as you can; for I am in great doubt. I can inform you that Quintus comes to-morrow; but whether to me, or to you, I am uncertain. He wrote me word that he should come to Rome the 25th; but I have sent to invite him;³ though it obliges me to go presently to Rome, that he may not arrive before me.

LETTER LII.

O THE troublesome guest!¹ But I had no reason to repent of it; for it turned out very pleasantly. Upon his arrival at Philippus's on the evening of the second day of the Saturnalia,² the house was so filled with soldiers, that there was scarcely space left for Cæsar himself to dine. There were 2000 people. I was indeed disturbed at thinking what would be the case the next day.³ Barba Cassius came to my assistance, and set a guard. An encampment was formed in the fields; the house was secured.

³ To Cicero's house at Rome.

¹ This may be considered as spoken by Cicero in anticipation of Cæsar's visit.

² The 21st of December.

³ When Cicero was to receive him.

On the third of the Saturnalia he remained at Philippus's till one in the afternoon, and did not admit any body. I imagine he was settling his accounts with Balbus. Then he walked on the beach.⁴ After two o'clock he went into the bath; then he heard about Mamurra:⁵ he never changed countenance; he was anointed, and sat down to table, following an emetic course.⁶ So he ate, and drank without reserve, and in good humour; sumptuously indeed, and with due preparation; and not only that, but "with good conversation well digested" and seasoned, and, if you ask, cheerfully."⁷ His attendants were besides entertained at three tables very plentifully. Nor was any thing wanting for the inferior freedmen, and slaves; while those of higher condition were elegantly served. In short, I thought myself a man⁸ again. Yet my guest was not one, to whom you would say—"pray come to me in the same manner when you return." Once is enough. There was nothing of importance

⁴ At Cicero's house.

⁵ Mamurra had realized a great fortune in Cæsar's service. It is supposed that Catullus's verses on Mamurra may have been read, reflecting also upon Cæsar.

⁶ A course prescribed to such as were using vomits, which seems to have been familiar to the ancient Romans.

⁷ The preceding sentence is a verse of Lucilius.

⁸ It put him in mind of former times under a free government.

in the conversation, but a great deal of liberal learning. In short, he was highly pleased and enjoyed himself. He said he should pass one day at Puteoli, and one at Baiaë. You have here the account of my hospitality, or forced⁹ entertainment, which was disagreeable to me, I say, not grievous. I shall stay here¹⁰ a little while, then go to Tusculanum. As he passed Dolabella's villa, the whole body of armed men ranged themselves on each side of his horse;¹¹ which was done no where else. This I heard from Nicias.

⁹ In the original is a Greek word signifying a forced reception for the retinue of a prince. ¹⁰ At Astura.

¹¹ This was probably intended as a mark of honor.

In the interval between this and the subsequent Book, Cæsar had been killed by a conspiracy of distinguished men jealous of their country's liberty. At the head of these were M. Brutus and C. Cassius the Prætors.

BOOK XIV.

LETTER I.

I HAVE been to call upon the person¹ about whom I spoke to you this morning. He said nothing could be more ruinous ; that the state could never be settled. For if he,² with all his abilities, found no way of doing it ; who will now find any ? In short, he said that all was ruined. I know not if it be so. But he affirmed, with apparent satisfaction, that in less than twenty days there would be an insurrection in Gaul ; that, for his own part, since the 15th of March³ he had conversed with nobody besides Lepidus ; in conclusion, that it was impossible things should stop here. O prudent Oppius ! who does no less regret Cæsar, while he says nothing that can give offence to any

¹ Matius. See Letter III. and IV.

² Cæsar.

³ The day on which Cæsar had been killed.

honest man. But enough of this. Whatever new occurs (and I expect a great deal) I beg you will not fail to write. Among other things, whether this is certain about Sextus;⁴ but above all about our friend Brutus; of whom Cæsar used to say (as I heard from him with whom I have been) that “it is of great importance what he wishes; for whatever he wishes, he wishes strongly.” He⁵ took notice of this, when he⁶ spoke for Deiotarus at Nice, “that he seemed to speak with great vehemence and freedom.” Likewise (for I like to write every thing, as it occurs) very lately, when I was at his house by desire of Sestius, and sat down till I was called, he⁷ said; “can I doubt of my being greatly hated, when M. Cicero is obliged to wait, and cannot get an audience at his own convenience? Yet if any body is gracious, it is he; nevertheless I doubt not that he hates me bitterly.” This he⁸ told me, and much more of the same kind. But to my purpose. Whatever may happen, not only of great, but also of little moment, you will inform me. On my part I will omit nothing.

⁴ Sextus Pompeius, who had collected a considerable force in Spain.

⁵ Cæsar.

⁶ Brutus.

⁷ Cæsar.

⁸ Matius.

LETTER II.

YESTERDAY I received two letters from you. By the first I learned the circumstances of the theatre, and Publius ;¹ good indications of the concurrence of the populace. The applause, which was given to L. Cassius, has even some pleasantry.² The other letter is upon the subject of Bald Cape,³ which affords however no safe harbour, as you suppose. For I went on, though not so far as I had intended ; being detained a long time in conversation. What I wrote to you, obscurely perhaps, was this : he said that Cæsar had observed to him, upon the occasion of my being kept waiting, when I went to him at Sestius's request ; “ can I now “ be so foolish as to suppose this easy man

¹ Supposed to mean P. Dolabella, who was cheered in the theatre.

² L. Cassius being applauded not for any merit of his own, but because his brother C. Cassius had been one of those concerned in killing Cæsar.

³ There is no doubt of Matius being intended under the name of Madarus, which in Greek signifies bald ; the subsequent word *φαλακρωμα* signifying a bald head, or naked headland, such as usually protects a harbour. But in this instance it afforded so little hope of tranquillity, that Cicero did not remain there ; Matius being evidently hostile to Brutus, from whose cause alone tranquillity could be expected.

“ will be friendly to me, after he has been kept “ so long waiting for my convenience?” You have then a “ bald cape” very unfriendly to tranquillity; that is, to Brutus. I am going to day to Tusculanum, to-morrow to Lanuvium; thence I mean to proceed to Astura. Every thing is ready for Pilia’s reception;⁴ but I want likewise to see Attica; though I forgive you.⁵ My compliments to both of them.

LETTER III.

YOUR letter is still peaceful. I wish this may last; for Matius said it was impossible. And my workmen, mark you, who went to purchase corn, returned empty handed, and brought a strong report from Rome that all the corn was taken to Antonius’s house. This is certainly a false alarm, or you would have written to inform me. Balbus’s freedman Corumbus has not yet been here. The name is familiar to me; for he is said to be a clever architect. You seem to have been employed to counter sign,¹ not without reason; for so these people

⁴ At Cumanum. See Letter xvii.

⁵ Forgive you for keeping her with you.

¹ To set his seal as witness to the Wills of some of Cæsar’s party, who wished to secure Cicero’s friendship by their bequests, to which Atticus was privy.

would have us think.² I do not know why they should not feel it also in their heart. But what are these things to me? However, find out Antonius's real disposition. I suspect him rather of solicitude about his table, than of designing any mischief. If you have any thing of importance, let me know it; or if not, tell me the indications of popular feeling, and the sayings of the actors.³ Compliments to Pilia and Attica.

LETTER IV.

WHAT news do you suppose I can have at Lanuvium? But I imagine that you there¹ must every day receive some fresh intelligence. The times are pregnant with business. For when Matius² is so indisposed to peace, what think you of others? I am grieved in-

² Think them to be Cicero's friends. It alludes to something previously mentioned by Atticus.

³ It seems to have been customary for the comic actors to insert passages calculated to catch the public mind. See Book II. Letter XIX.

¹ At Rome.

² Matius had on a former occasion been mentioned as a person of moderation and prudence, supposed to be a friend to peace. See Book IX. Letter II.

deed that (what never happened in any other state) together with liberty the Republic should not have been restored. What is talked of, and threatened, is dreadful. I am afraid also of hostilities in Gaul, and what Sextus³ may attempt. But whatever happens, this 15th of March is a consolation. Our heroes,⁴ as far as lay in them, have acted gloriously and magnificently. What remains to be done, requires supplies and forces ; of which we have none. I write this, that if there is any thing new, (for every day I expect something) you may immediately let me know it ; and if there is nothing new, yet that, according to custom, our correspondence may suffer no interruption. I will take care it shall not on my part.

LETTER V.

HAVING used abstinence before you were seriously indisposed, I hope that all is now as I could wish ; yet I should be glad to know how you do. It is a good sign, that Calvena¹ is

³ Sextus Pompeius in Spain.

⁴ The conspirators against Cæsar.

¹ Matius, whom he had before called Madarus, Letter II., both words being indicative of baldness. It is not im-

uneasy at being suspected by Brutus. But this is no good sign, that the legions are coming with their ensigns from Gaul. What do you think of those, which have been in Spain? Will they not make the same demands?² What of those, which Annius took over?³ I should have said Caninius, but it was a slip of the memory. There will be great confusion excited by this gamester.⁴ For that conspiracy of Cæsar's freedmen might easily be put down, if Antonius acted with prudence. Mine was a foolish scrupulousness in declining to get an honorary legation⁵ before the adjournment, that I might not seem to desert this swell of affairs, from which, if it were possible for me to remedy it, I certainly ought not to withhold my services. But you see the magistrates, if indeed they deserve the name; you see however the minions of the tyrant in authority; you see his veteran troops at our side;⁶

probable that Atticus may first have used Madarus, derived from the Greek, which was familiar to him; and that Cicero may have invented the corresponding word Calvena from the Latin.

² Of what Cæsar had promised them.

³ To Greece, preparatory to the war, which Cæsar was going to wage with the Parthians.

⁴ Antonius.

⁵ An authoritative leave of absence from the Senate, frequently alluded to in the earlier books of these letters.

⁶ Having lands given them in Campania and other neighbouring districts.

all which are unstable⁷ things; while they,⁸ who ought not only to be protected, but exalted, by the guards of the whole world, are rewarded neither with praise, nor love, but confined within their own walls.⁹ Yet after all, it is they that are happy; the state that is wretched. But I should be glad to know what effect the approach of Octavius¹⁰ produces; whether people flock to him; whether there is any apprehension of usurpation. I do not think it; but yet, whatever happens, I wish to know it. I write this to you on the 12th, setting out from Astura.

LETTER VI.

I RECEIVED your letter on the 12th at Fundi, while I was at dinner. In the first place therefore I was glad to hear that you were better; then that you made a better report of public affairs; for I did not like that approach of the troops. About Octavius I am very indifferent. I am curious to hear something of Marius,¹

⁷ Not to be relied upon.

⁸ The conspirators against Cæsar.

⁹ They withdrew from the public ferment excited by Cæsar's death.

¹⁰ Better known afterwards by the name of Augustus.

¹ See Book XII. Letter L.

whom I supposed to have been put to death by Cæsar. Antonius's interview with our heroes² passed off very well for the occasion. Hitherto however nothing gives me pleasure besides the 15th of March. Here at Fundi, where I am with my friend Ligur, I am distracted at seeing Sextilius's farm in the possession of that rascal Curtilius; and what I say of him, I say of the whole tribe. For what can be more sad, than to look upon the very things, which made us hate him?³ Are we also to have for two years the Consuls and Tribunes of the people, which he chose? I am quite at a loss to know what part I can take in public affairs. Nothing was ever so inconsistent, as that the destroyers of the tyrant should be praised to the skies, while the acts of the tyrant are defended. But you see the Consuls; you see the other Magistrates, (if they deserve the name); you see the want of energy in the good. In the country towns the people are exulting with joy. It cannot be told how much they are delighted, how they flock about me, how eager they are to hear every word relating to that affair.⁴ Yet in all this time no decrees are passed. For such is the state of our government, that we are afraid of the very people we have defeated. I write

² The Conspirators.³ Cæsar.⁴ Cæsar's death.

this during my dessert. I will write more fully on public affairs another time. Let me, on your part, hear how you do, and what is going forward.

LETTER VII.

ON the 14th I saw Paullus in Caieta, who informed me about Marius ; and mentioned some other things relating to the Republic, which were indeed very sad. There has been nothing from you ; for none of my people have arrived. But I hear that our friend Brutus was seen near Lanuvium. Where does he intend to fix himself ? For while I wish to be acquainted with every thing else, so particularly what concerns him. I write this the 15th, on the point of leaving Formianum, that from thence in another day I may reach Puteolanum. I have received from Cicero a letter smacking of the ancient style, and of considerable length. The rest may possibly be feigned ; but the style of his letter shews that he has acquired some learning. Now I earnestly beg you to take care, as I lately mentioned to you, that he may not be left in want of any thing. This concerns my credit and dignity, as well as my

duty; and I understand that you are entirely of the same opinion. If then there is an opportunity, I think of going into Greece in the month of July. I hope every thing may be more favorable. But the times being such that it is impossible to say certainly what may be proper for me, what allowable, what expedient; pray take care that I may support him honorably and handsomely. You will take into your consideration, as usual, this, and whatever else concerns me; and you will write to me all that is interesting, or, if there is nothing, what comes into your head.

LETTER VIII.

WHEN you wrote, you supposed me to be already in one of my houses on the coast; and I received your letter on the 16th at the little cottage at Sinuessa.¹ About Marius it is quite right, though I must needs grieve for the grandson² of L. Crassus. I rejoice also

¹ Sinuessa is on the sea coast, whither Atticus's letter had been sent. It appears from Book xvi. Letter x. that Cicero had a house there.

² This pretender had been put to death, by Antonius. Had he been the person whose name he assumed, he would have been grandson to L. Crassus. See Book xii. Letter l.

that our friend Brutus is so well satisfied with Antonius.³ For as to what you say of Junia's⁴ having brought a letter written in a temperate and friendly manner; Paullus⁵ gave me one that he had received from his brother; at the conclusion of which he mentions that a plot had been formed against him, of which he had certain information. I did not like this, much less did he. I am not sorry for the Queen's⁶ flight; but I want you to inform me what is become of Clodia.⁷ You will take care about the Byzantians, as about every thing else, and will send for Pelops to come to you. As soon as I have seen into the business of Baiæ,⁸ and

³ Brutus's agreement with Antonius was likely to lead to peace.

⁴ This Junia was sister to Brutus, and wife to M. Lepidus, who had the government of Transalpine Gaul. The letter must probably have been from Lepidus, the friend of Cæsar, to Brutus. The good understanding of the opposite parties apparent from this letter, would be destroyed by plots, or the suspicion of plots, such as is afterwards mentioned.

⁵ L. Æmilius Paullus, brother to Lepidus.

⁶ Cleopatra, who had followed Cæsar to Rome, and now fled upon the event of his assassination.

⁷ To what this alludes, or the following mention of the Byzantians, is not known.

⁸ When Cicero speaks of "the business" of Baiæ, he may be supposed to mean the conversation and idle talk; Baiæ being notorious for idleness. And in sense receives confirmation from the word *chorum*, which I have

that assembly, about whom you wish to be informed, I will write, as you desire, that you may know every thing. I am anxiously expecting what the Gauls, what the Spaniards, what Sextus will do. This you will tell me, who tell me every thing. I am glad that the reason of your silence was nothing but a slight indisposition; for I seem, as I read your letters, to feel a temporary ease. Always write to me every thing that relates to Brutus, where he is, and what are his intentions. I hope he may now safely walk alone all over the city. But yet I should like to know.⁹

LETTER IX.

I HAVE learned a great deal about the Republic from your letters, several of which I received at the same time by Vestorius's freedman. To your questions I shall reply briefly. In the first place, I am greatly delighted with the

rendered "assembly," but which in the original means properly "an assembly of dancers or singers." The expressions may probably be borrowed from Atticus, who seems often to have indulged in a little good humoured bantering, seasoned also with terms newly invented, or newly applied. See Book iv. Letter viii. It is to this that Cicero alludes (Letter xiv.) when he says *joca tua plena facetiarum*.⁹ See Letter v.

Cluvian inheritance;¹ but as to what you ask, why I sent for Chrysippus;² I had two cottages in ruins, and the rest were so crazy, that not only the lodgers, but the very rats had left them. Some people would call this a calamity; for my part, I do not think it even a disadvantage. O Socrates, and ye of the Socratic school,³ I shall never be sufficiently thankful to you. Ye immortal Gods! how totally do I disregard such things. But, however, I have got such a plan for building, by the recommendation and assistance of Vestorius, that this loss will be a real gain to me. There is a great concourse here; and, as I am told, it will be still greater. Two indeed are the pretended⁴ Consuls elect. O gracious Gods! The tyranny survives, though the tyrant is dead. We rejoice in the death of the victim, whose acts we defend. How severely therefore does M. Curtius accuse us, as if it were a disgrace to live. And not without reason. For it had been better to die a thousand times, than to suffer such a state of things, which seems likely

¹ See Book XIII. Letter XLVI.

² An architect, mentioned likewise. See Book XIII. Letter XXIX.

³ Whose philosophy Cicero had adopted.

⁴ Hirtius and Pansa, who had been appointed by Cæsar, not elected by the votes of the people according to the laws of the Republic.

even to be permanent. Balbus also is here, and is much with me. He had received a letter from Vetus,⁵ dated the 31st of December, stating that at the time he was besieging Cæcilius,⁶ and had almost taken him, Pacorus the Parthian came up with a large army, by which means Cæcilius had been snatched from him, and he had lost many of his men; in which affair he accuses Volcatius. Thus a war in that quarter appears imminent. But let Dolabella and Nicias⁷ see to this. At the same time Balbus gave me more favorable accounts of Gaul. He had a letter twenty days after its date, saying that the Germani, and those nations, upon hearing about Cæsar, had sent deputies to Aurelius, who was left in the command by Hirtius, professing their submission to such orders as they should receive. In short every thing wore the appearance of peace, contrary to what Calvena⁸ had said.

⁵ C. Antistius Vetus, one of Cæsar's generals.

⁶ Cæcilius was of Pompeius's party; after the battle of Pharsalia he had raised an army in Syria, and was besieged in Apamea.

⁷ Dolabella was going into Syria to conduct the war against the Parthians, and Nicias accompanied him, being attached by familiarity and friendship.

⁸ Matius. See Letter v. n. 1.

LETTER X.

Is it so then? Has my and your Brutus found this fruit of his exertion, that he should be shut up in Lanuvium? That Trebonius should proceed to his province through by-ways? That all the acts, writings, sayings, promises, thoughts of Cæsar, should have greater force, than if he were himself alive? Do you remember how I demanded, on that very first Capitoline¹ day, that the Senate should be summoned by the Prætors² into the Capitol? Ye immortal Gods! What operations might then have been effected; while all good, or tolerably good, people were exulting: and the rogues were confounded? You lay the blame on the 18th of March.³ But what could have been done then? We were already ruined. Do you remember exclaiming that the cause was ruined, if he should be exposed with funeral honors? Yet he was burnt in the public forum, and extolled to ex-

¹ Day of transactions in the Capitol, when, Cæsar being assassinated, the conspirators took refuge there, and were joined by all the most respectable people.

² Brutus and Cassius were Prætors.

³ On which day was passed the decree confirming Cæsar's acts, and the grants of land made to his veteran troops.

cite pity; and slaves and beggars were sent with torches against our houses. What followed? That they dared to say, “do you oppose the nod of Cæsar?” These, and other things of the same kind, I am unable to bear; therefore I think of changing my country for another. But has your windy colic entirely left you? As far as I could judge by your letters, it seemed to be so. I come back to the Tebassi,⁴ the Scævas, the Frangos. Do you imagine that they expect to hold their possessions, while our authority still subsists? For they gave us credit for more valor, than they have found. Will these forsooth be lovers of peace, and not rather authors of plunder? But what I said to you about Curtilius⁵ and the Sestulian estate, I say about Censorinus, about Messalla, about Plancus, about Postumius, about the whole set. It were better to have died when he⁶ died (which I wish⁷ had happened), than to witness these things. Octavius arrived in Naples the 18th.⁸ There Balbus saw him the following morning, and

⁴ These are names of obscure persons enriched by Cæsar out of the confiscated property of his enemies.

⁵ Letter vi.

⁶ Cæsar.

⁷ I have in the translation adopted the conjectural emendation of Gronovius, who proposed to substitute *utinam* in the place of *nunquam*.

⁸ Of April.

the same day came to me in Cumanum, and said that he⁹ was going to enter upon his inheritance.¹⁰ But, as you say, he must have a great contest-radical¹¹ with Antonius. Your Buthrotian¹² affair is, as it ought and shall be, an object of my care. You ask if the Cluvian inheritance¹³ has already produced an hundred Sestertia (£800.). It seems to approach to this; but in the first year I have cleared eighty (£640.). Quintus the father has written to me in vexation about his son, principally owing to the fondness he now shews to his mother, towards whom he was before so undeservedly hostile.¹⁴ He has sent me some flaming letters against him. What he is doing, if you know, and have not yet left Rome, I should be glad

⁹ Octavius.

¹⁰ Cæsar's fortune, which Antonius had hoped to appropriate to himself.

¹¹ The Greek word in the original is probably a coinage of Atticus. See Letter VIII. n. 7.

¹² Atticus had considerable possessions at Buthrotum in Epirus; in consideration of which, he had not only got that country exempted from proscription, but had paid to Cæsar's officers a large sum in discharge of the contributions demanded of the inhabitants. This he was anxious to have ratified by the Consuls according to the law for ratifying Cæsar's Acts. See Appendix, No. 1.

¹³ See Book XIII. Letter XLVI.

¹⁴ See Book XIII. Letter XXXVIII. It appears that Quintus the father had lately been divorced.

if you would inform me; and indeed if there is any thing else. I am infinitely delighted with your letters.

LETTER XI.

THE day before yesterday I sent you a longer letter. I shall now reply to the contents of your last. I should in truth be very glad to let Brutus occupy Astura.¹ You speak of the intemperance of those people: did you expect it to be otherwise? For my part, I look for yet greater things. When I read the harangue about "so great a man," about so "distinguished a citizen;" I am unable to bear it. Though these things may now make one smile; yet remember; the custom of pernicious harangues is so cherished, that those our Gods, not Heroes, will live indeed in eternal glory, but not without envy, not even without danger. Yet they have a great consolation in the consciousness of the noblest and most famous deed. But what consolation is left for us? Who, when our king is killed, are yet not free. But let fortune see to this, since reason does not rule. I am pleased with what you tell me of Cicero. I wish all may go on well. The care you take to supply him amply

¹ See Letter xv.

for his use and ornament, is very grateful to me, and I beg you to continue it. Respecting the Buthrotians you judge very rightly, and I do not forget that concern. With regard to the Cluvian inheritance, (since the interest you take in my affairs exceeds even my own) the rents amount to an hundred (£800.) The downfal² has not lessened the property; I do not know if it may not have improved it. I have with me here Balbus, Hirtius, and Pansa. Octavius has lately arrived at the neighbouring house of Philippus. He is entirely devoted, to me. Lentulus Spinther is coming to me to day, and goes away to-morrow morning.

LETTER XII.

O my Atticus, I fear this 15th of March may be productive of no other issue, than a transitory joy, followed by the penalty of odium and grief. What is it that I hear from thence?¹ What do I witness here?² A noble act indeed, but fruitless! You know how much I am attached to the people of Sicily, and how honorable I esteem that patronage. Cæsar conferred upon them many benefits, to which I

² This alludes to the ruinous state of some cottages belonging to the Cluvian property, mentioned in Letter ix.

¹ From Rome.

² At Baiæ.

did not object ; though their admission to the rights of Latium was too much. However, let that pass. But see now Antonius, in consideration of a large sum of money, has promulged a law, said to have been proposed by the Dictator in the Comitia, by which the Sicilians are made Roman citizens ; of which there was never any mention during his life. Nay, is not the case the same with my friend Deiotarus ?³ He is worthy indeed of any kingdom ; but not through the influence of Fulvia.⁴ There are six hundred things of the same kind. But I come back to my purpose. In a cause so clear, so well attested, and so just, as that of Buthrotum,⁵ shall we obtain no satisfaction ? We may the more expect it, the more he⁶ thus dispenses. Octavius conducts himself here in a manner very respectful and friendly towards me. His own people saluted him as Cæsar ;⁷ but as Philippus⁸ did not, therefore neither did I. I do not think it possible for him to be a good citizen, so many people are about him,

³ See Book v. Letter xvii. He had been deprived of his Kingdom of Armenia by Cæsar.

⁴ Antonius's wife. See Book xvi. Letter iii.

⁵ See Letter x. n. 12.

⁶ Antonius.

⁷ He had been adopted by Cæsar, in consequence of which it was usual to take the name after it had been ratified in the Assembly.

⁸ L. Philippus had married Atia, mother to Octavius, and niece to Cæsar.

who threaten the death of our friends. They⁹ say these things are not to be born. What think you, when this boy¹⁰ shall come to Rome, where our liberators cannot be in safety? Famous indeed they will always be; and happy too in the consciousness of what they have achieved. But we, unless I deceive myself, shall lie in in disgrace. I wish therefore to get away, where "I may hear nothing of the "Pelopidæ,"¹¹ as the poet says. I do not like even these Consuls elect, who have however forced me to declame;¹² so that I am not permitted to be at rest even at this watering place. This is owing to my too great complaisance. Formerly it was almost necessary;¹³ but now, whatever be the state of things, the case is altered. For a good while past I have had nothing to write to you; yet I write, not because I take any pleasure in my letters, but that I may elicit yours. Do you, if there is any thing about other matters, but especially

⁹ Octavius's friends say that the conspirators ought not to go unpunished.

¹⁰ Octavius was at this time about eighteen years old.

¹¹ This is part of a sentence from a play of Accius, quoted more at length Book xv. Letter xi. meaning, "where I may hear nothing of these people."

¹² It was customary for distinguished orators to declame on some subject proposed, for the edification of younger men.

¹³ In order to conciliate Cæsar's friends.

whatever occurs relative to Brutus, let me know it. I write this on the 22d,¹⁴ while I am at table at Vestorius's house, a man unused to argument, but sufficiently versed in Arithmetic.¹⁵

LETTER XIII.

YOUR letter of the 19th was delivered to me on the seventh day after. You ask, and even suppose that I do not myself know, whether I am most pleased with the hills and prospect, or with the walks on the level beach.¹ And indeed, as you say, the beauty of both is such, that I doubt which is to be preferred. But “we have other cares than those of entertain-
“ments, and see with dread a prodigious mis-
“chief gathering, and stand in doubt whether
“we shall be saved, or perish.”² For though you send me great and pleasing intelligence of

¹⁴ Of April.

¹⁵ He was occasionally employed by Cicero in some money transactions, and may perhaps have been a scribe, or money agent, at Puteoli. See Book XIII. Letter XLV. and XLVI.

¹ This must be supposed to allude to his recent acquisition of Cluvius's estate at Puteoli.

² The original is from Homer.

D. Brutus³ having joined his troops, in whom my best hopes reside; yet, if a civil war breaks out, as it certainly will; if Sextus remains in arms, which I am confident he will; what part I ought to take, I know not. For it will not now be allowable, as it was in Cæsar's war, to move neither to one side, nor the other. But whomsoever this set of scoundrels supposes to have been pleased with Cæsar's death (and we have all most openly shewed our joy) him they will hold to be in the number of their enemies. And this consideration leads to a most extensive slaughter. It remains for me then to join the army of Sextus,⁴ or perhaps of Brutus. An odious measure, at once foreign from our age, and exposed to the uncertain issue of war. So that we may in some measure say to each other, "My child, to you are not granted "warlike operations; do you rather employ "yourself in the lovely works of speech."⁵ But this must be left to fortune; which in such circumstances is of more avail, than reason. Let us however see to that, which ought to be in our own power; that, whatever happens,

³ Decimus Brutus was a relation of M. Brutus, and had the government of Cisalpine Gaul.

⁴ Sextus Pompeius in Spain.

⁵ The original is a little altered from an address of Jupiter to Venus in the Iliad of Homer.

we may bear it with fortitude and self-possession, and may remember that it is the condition of humanity: and let us still derive great consolation from literature, and not a little also from the 15th of March. Take now upon yourself the consideration of what constitutes my present solicitude; so many things occur to my mind both ways. I am going, as I had arranged, with a nominal appointment⁶ to Greece. I may thus in some measure escape the danger of the impending conflict; but am likely to incur blame for deserting the Republic at so difficult a crisis. Should I remain, I foresee that I must be exposed to great risk; but I conceive it may happen that I may be able to be of use to the Republic. The following considerations are of a private nature; that I think it may be very advantageous for the confirmation of my son, that I should go thither; nor indeed had I any other object in view at the time when I determined to get from Cæsar an honorary lieutenancy. You will take this whole business therefore into your consideration, as you use to do where you think me to be concerned. I come now to your letter, in which you say it is rumoured that I am going to sell the property which I have at the lake;⁷ and

⁶ An honorary lieutenancy. See Letter v.

⁷ The Lucrine lake in the neighbourhood of Baiæ and Puteoli. See Letter xvi.

to convey to Quintus that little place, at an extravagant price, that the rich Aquillia, as young Quintus told you, may be introduced there. But I have no thought of selling it, unless I should find something, which I like better; and Quintus has, at this time, no wish to purchase; for he has enough to do in the repayment of his wife's dower,⁸ in which he is under great obligations to Egnatius. And as for taking another wife, he is so far from it, that he declares nothing is more delightful than a single bed. But enough of this. I revert to the wretched, or rather the lost Republic. M. Antonius has written to me about the restoration of Sextus Clodius;⁹ how honorably, as far as relates to me, you will see by his own letter, of which I send you a copy; how profligately, how basely, how mischievously, (so that I sometimes almost wish for Cæsar again) you will easily believe. For things, which Cæsar would never either have done, or suffered, are now brought forward from his forged instructions. I have treated Antonius with all civility; for having once persuaded himself that he was at liberty to do what he chose, he would not the less have done it for my disapprobation. Therefore I send you likewise a copy of my answer.

⁸ Having lately put away his wife Pomponia.

⁹ He had been a partizan of P. Clodius, and banished for having headed an uproar at the time of P. Clodius's death.

Antonius Consul to Cicero.

IT has happened from my occupations, and your sudden departure, that I have been prevented from treating with you personally upon the following business; and in consequence am apprehensive that my absence may lessen the weight I might have with you. But if your goodness corresponds with the opinion I have always entertained of you, I shall sincerely rejoice. I begged of Cæsar to restore Sex. Clodius; and I gained my suit. It was my intention, even then, to use his kindness only on the condition of your acceding to it; which makes me the more earnest that I may now be permitted to do it with your consent. But if you shew yourself unmoved by his miserable and ruined fortune, I shall not contend against you, however I may seem bound to support Cæsar's Will. Yet in truth, if you are disposed to regard me with humanity, with prudence, and charity, you will easily be persuaded; and will be glad that P. Clodius,¹ a youth of the fairest hopes, should think that, when it was in your power, you did not persecute his father's friends. Let it, I entreat you, appear that you engaged in hostility with his father for the Republic's sake; and you will not despise this

¹ Son of that P. Clodius who had been so inveterate against Cicero, and the author of his banishment.

family. For we more honorably, and more readily, lay aside the quarrels which have been taken up in the name of the Republic, than those of private pique. Suffer me then to instill into this youth, even now, these sentiments, and to teach his tender mind that quarrels are not to be transmitted to posterity. Though I know well that your fortune, Cicero, is exempt from all danger; yet I apprehend you would rather pass a tranquil and honorable old age, than one of vexation. Lastly, I ask this favor of you by my own right, having done every thing in my power for your sake. Should I not obtain your consent, so far as I am concerned, I shall not give this boon to Clodius; that you may understand how great your authority is with me, and may for that reason be the more easily conciliated.

Cicero to Antonius, Consul.

WHAT you negotiate with me by letter, I should for one reason only have wished to negotiate in person; that you might have perceived not by my words alone, but also by my countenance, and eyes, and forehead, as they say, the affection I bear you. For having always loved you, as indeed I was constrained to do, first by your attention, afterwards also by the favors I received; so in these times the Republic has attached me to you in such a man-

mer, that I hold nobody dearer ; and the letter you have written full of affection and consideration, makes me feel not that I am doing a kindness to you, but receiving one from you ; while in your request you refuse to serve my enemy, though your own relation, against my consent ; when you have it in your power to do so without any difficulty. But, my Antonius, I not only concede this to you ; but such are the expressions you use, that I consider myself most liberally and honorably treated. And though in any case I should think it right freely to grant this to you, I am glad to do it also in consideration of my own feelings and disposition. For I never entertained any bitterness, nor any thing that partakes of austereness or severity, beyond what the necessity of the Republic demanded. To which I may add, that against Clodius¹ himself I never shewed any signs of anger ; and have always made it a rule, not to persecute an enemy's friends, especially those without power ; and not to deprive ourselves of the protection they afforded. Respecting young Clodius, I consider it to be your business to imbue his tender mind, as you say, with these sentiments, that he may

¹ Sextus Clodius, for whom Antonius had written to him.

not suppose any hostility to remain between our families. In my contentions with P. Clodius I supported the public cause; he his own. The Republic has passed its judgment upon our struggles. If he were living, I should now have no quarrel remaining with him. Therefore, since you ask this of me in such a manner, that, notwithstanding your power, you refuse to make use of it without my consent, pray give this also to the young man, if you think fit; not that my age has any danger to apprehend from his youth; or that my dignity has to fear any opposition; but that you and I may be mutually united together more than we have hitherto been. For owing to the intervention of these hostilities, your heart has been more open to me, than your house.² But enough of this. I have only to say, that I shall always, without hesitation, and with the greatest zeal, do whatever I think will please you, or contribute to your advantage; of which I beg you to be thoroughly persuaded.

² Antonius had married Fulvia the widow of P. Clodius.

LETTER XIV.

REPEAT again those same words to me.¹ Has our young Quintus worn a chaplet in the public² games? Was he the only one? though you add Lamia, which I am surprised at; but I wish to know who there were besides. I am quite sure however there could be nobody who was not a bad citizen. Yet let me hear the particulars. It happened that I had dispatched to you my letter of the 26th written at considerable length, about three hours before I received yours full of important matter. I need not tell you how heartily I laughed at your pleasantry and wit on the Vestorine³ heresy, and the Puteolan custom of the Pherios. But let us turn to what more immediately concerns

¹ The text is borrowed from a play of Pacuvius.

² The Parilia were celebrated the 21st of April; but Cæsar having received the news of a victory gained in Spain on the eve of this annual festival, appointed additional games to be observed ever after in memory of that event. Young Quintus wore a chaplet on this occasion to shew his attachment to Cæsar.

³ Alluding to Cicero's xiith letter, in the conclusion of which he speaks of Vestorius as more versed in Arithmetic, than in Philosophical reasoning. What is meant by the Puteolan custom of the Pherio's is not so easily explained; but may probably be a witticism of the same kind, drawn from the circumstance of the Phero's being perhaps brokers at Puteoli.

the public. You defend the party of Brutus and Cassius, as if I reproached them, whom I cannot sufficiently praise. But I summed up the faults of the times, not of the men. For after the tyrant has been removed, I see the tyranny continue. So that what he⁴ would not have done, is now done; as in the case of Clodius; respecting whom I am confident that he not only would not have done it, but would not even have suffered it. Rufio Vestorianus⁵ will follow, (who was never written Victor,⁶) and others. Who will not? We could not bear to be the slaves of the man himself; yet we yield obedience to his memorandums. For on the 18th of March⁷ who could absent himself from the Senate? But suppose that this might in some manner have been possible; yet, when we had assembled, could we freely deliver our opinions? Was it not necessary by all means to support the veteran soldiers,⁸

⁴ Cæsar.

⁵ See Book v. Letter II.

⁶ Atticus may have erroneously written his name Rufio Victor; but Cicero says he should rather be distinguished by the name of Vestorianus, having been implicated in some dispute with Vestorius, but without obtaining a victory over him.

⁷ On that day the Senate had been summoned by Antonius, and passed the decree for the ratification of Cæsar's acts.

⁸ Whom Cæsar had rewarded with the confiscated estates of the Pompeians.

who were present, and armed, while we had nothing to protect us? How little I was pleased with that session⁹ in the Capitol, you are witness. What then? Was that the fault of the Brutus's?¹⁰ By no means indeed of those Brutus's; but of other Brutus's,¹¹ who think themselves cautious, and prudent; who were satisfied with feeling a secret joy; while some even expressed their congratulations; but none remained firm. But let us omit what is past; let us support these people with every care and protection; and, as you teach us, let us be content to think ourselves happy in the 15th of March; which to our friends indeed, those more than mortal men, has given an access to heaven; but has not given freedom to the Roman people. Recollect your own prediction. Do you not remember how you exclaimed that every thing was lost, if he should have a public funeral? You said it wisely; and you see what has flowed from that circumstance. As to what you mention, that Antonius was to bring forward the subject of the provinces on the first of June, of which he was himself to

⁹ Where Brutus and most persons of condition assembled after the assassination of Cæsar.

¹⁰ Brutus's party.

¹¹ No fault of those who exerted themselves to restore the Republic; but of others, who refused to support them, after professing attachment to the cause of liberty.

have the two Gauls, with extension of the ordinary time in both; will it be allowed to vote freely? If it is, I shall rejoice at the recovery of our liberty; if not, what do I get by this change of masters, besides the pleasure with which my eyes beheld the just fall of the tyrant? You say that the temple of Ops¹² has been plundered; which I foresaw at that time. Verily we have been set free by excellent men, and yet are not free. So the praise is theirs, the blame our own. And do you exhort me to write history? To collect together the wicked acts of these people, by whom we are even now besieged? Can I avoid commending those same persons, who have employed you to countersign?¹³ Not that the paltry interest weighs with me; but it is hard to visit with reproach people, whoever they are, that are kindly disposed. But about all my designs, as you mention, I think I shall be able to decide more certainly on the 1st of June, on which day I shall be in Rome, and will use my utmost endeavours, with the help of your authority and influence, and the perfect justice of the cause, that a decree of the Senate may be obtained in the case of the Buthrotians, such as

¹² In which Cæsar had collected a large sum of money for the prosecution of the Parthian war.

¹³ See Letter III.

you describe. What you bid me consider, I will consider; though in my last letter I had referred the consideration to you. But you are for restoring to your neighbours,¹⁴ the Marsellois, their property; as if the Republic were already reestablished. It may perhaps be possible to do this by arms, in which what strength we possess I know not; by authority it is impossible.

LETTER XV.

THE short letter, which you afterwards¹ wrote, was indeed very pleasing to me, about Brutus's letter to Antonius, and the other to you. Things wear a better appearance, than they have hitherto done. But I must consider where I am, and which way I should even now proceed.² My charming Dolabella! For I now call him mine; before, believe me, I had some doubt. This is an affair of deep contemplation. From the Tarpeian rock!³ On the cross! Throwing

¹⁴ It is probable some deputies from Marseilles might be living in the neighbourhood of Atticus's house at Rome, suing for the restoration of what Cæsar had taken from them, when they refused to join his party.

¹ Atticus had probably so called it in his letter.

² It having been his intention to pass over to Greece.
See Letter XIII.

³ Dolabella had exerted himself in his capacity of Consul

down the pillar! Contracting for the new paving of the ground! In short, it is quite heroic. He seems to have put an end to that affectation of regret,⁴ which was already making daily progress, and which I feared, had it continued, would have been dangerous to our deliverers. I now entirely concur with your letter, and hope for better things; though I cannot bear those persons, who, while they pretend to be friends to peace, support his⁵ wicked acts. But all cannot be done at once. Things are beginning to go better, than I had expected. I shall not however go abroad, till you think I can do it with propriety. I will certainly go where be wanting to my Brutus. Even if there were no friendship between us, I would do it in acknowledgment of his great and distinguished virtue. I give up to Pilia my whole house,⁶ and all that it contains,

to check the forwardness of those who had raised a monument to Cæsar, and erected a pillar inscribed “to the father of his country.” Some he caused to be thrown from the Tarpeian rock (an ancient form of capital punishment in Rome); others, slaves, he ordered to be crucified; at the same time throwing down the pillar and monument, and ordering the ground on which they stood to be new paved.

⁴ The display of their regret for Cæsar. ⁵ Cæsar's.

⁶ His house at Cumanum on the borders of the Lucrine lake. See Letter xvi. and xvii. Pilia probably went on account of her health. See Book xv. Letter i.

being myself on my way to Pompeianum this 1st of May. I wish you would persuade Brutus to occupy my house at Astura.⁷

LETTER XVI.

I SEND this letter the 3d of May on the point of embarking from the Cluvian gardens in a row boat, after having put our dear Pilia in possession of my house on the Lucrine lake, with the servants and purveyors. The same day I threaten our friend Pætus's potted cheese,¹ and proceed for a few days to Pompeianum; whence I shall afterwards return by sea to these royal² domains of Puteoli and Cumæ. O places greatly to be desired in all other respects; but from the number of troublesome visitors almost to be shunned. But to come to the point; how noble is this conduct of my Dolabella! What matter it affords for contemplation! For my part, I do not cease to praise and to encourage him. You do well to inform me in all your letters, what you think of the thing itself, and what of the man. Our

⁷ This proposal is mentioned before. See Letter xi.

¹ The same expression is used before. See Book iv. Letter viii. It seems to mean only a cheap and homely dish.

² Expressive of the satisfaction he took in them.

friend Brutus, I suppose, might now wear even a golden crown in the middle of the forum. For who would dare to insult him, with a cross, or the Tarpeian rock³ before his eyes? Especially amidst such great applause and approbation of the lowest people. Now, my Atticus, resolve me of my doubts. I should like, when I have fully satisfied Brutus, to make an excursion into Greece. It is of great moment to Cicero, or rather to me, or I may say to both of us, that I should look upon him in his studies. For Leonidas's letter, which you sent me, affords me no great satisfaction. I shall never be content with commendations such as these; "as things are at present." It is the testimony of one who feels no confidence, but rather mistrust. I had desired Herodes to write to me in detail; but I have hitherto heard nothing from him. I fear he may have had nothing, which he thought would give me pleasure to hear. I am much obliged to you for having written to Xeno; for my duty, and reputation, are both concerned in his having no want unsupplied. I hear that Flamma Flaminus is at Rome. I have written to him to say that I had desired you to speak with him about the business of Montanus;⁴ and I shall be glad if you will take care that my letter is delivered

³ See Letter xv.

⁴ See Book xii. Letter liii.

to him ; and will yourself, at your convenience, have some conversation with him. I conceive, if the man has any sense of shame, he will provide against the possibility of any expense being incurred on his account. You have acted very kindly towards me in letting me know that Attica was well, before I knew of her indisposition.

LETTER XVII.

I CAME to Pompeianum the 3d of May, having, as I before wrote you word, established Pilia in Cumanum. There, whilst I was at dinner, your letter was delivered to me, which you had given to your freedman Demetrius the 30th of last month. In this are contained many things prudently done, yet such that, as you yourself observe, every design appears subject to the control of fortune. Upon these subjects therefore we can only speak as occasion offers, and when we are together. Respecting the affair of Buthrotum, I wish I may have an opportunity of seeing Antonius, which will be a great step. But it is not expected that he will deviate from the Capuan road, whither I fear he is gone to the great prejudice of the

Republic.¹ L. Cæsar,² whom I saw yesterday at Naples very far from well, was of the same opinion. This business must therefore be entered upon, and completed on the 1st of June.³ But enough of this. Young Quintus has written a most bitter letter to his father, who received it upon our arrival at Pompeianum. The substance of it was that he would not tolerate Aquillia as his stepmother. That however might perhaps be born. But what think you of this? That from Cæsar he had received every thing; nothing from his father; and for what was to come he looked to Antonius. How lost to all sense of honor! But I will think what can be done. I have written letters to our friend Brutus, to Cassius, and to Dolabella; of which I send you copies; not with a view to deliberate about sending them, for I am clearly of opinion they should be sent; but because I doubt not that you will agree with me. I beg you, my Atticus, to supply my son with what you think right, and to allow me to lay this burden upon you. I am very thankful

¹ He went to secure the co-operation of the Veteran troops, who had been established in that neighbourhood.

² This Lucius Cæsar appears, by the following letter to Dolabella, to have been Antonius's uncle by his mother's side.

³ The Senate had been appointed to meet on this day. See Letter XIV.

for what you have hitherto done. That unpublished work of mine⁴ has not yet been polished, as I designed. What you wish to have interwoven in it, requires another separate volume. But, believe me, I think there was less danger in speaking against those wicked practices during the life of the tyrant, than since his death. For he somehow bare with me surprisingly. Now, which ever way I move, I am called back to observe not only the acts of Cæsar, but his very thoughts. Flamma being arrived, you will see about Montanus: I think his business ought to be in a better state.

Cicero to his Dolabella, Consul.

THOUGH I am satisfied, my Dolabella, with the glory you have gained, and derive abundantly great joy and delight from it; yet I cannot help acknowledging that my pleasure is enhanced by the common opinion which supposes me to have a share in your praises. I have seen nobody¹—and I meet with numbers every day; for there are a great many excellent men, who come into these parts² on

⁴ His Anecdotes, or secret Memoirs and Observations on Public affairs. See Book II. Letter VI.

¹ The following part of the sentence being differently turned, there is left a sort of hiatus in the construction, which is no blemish in a letter, even if it be thought one in a more studied composition.

² The neighbourhood of Baïæ.

account of their health, besides many of my friends from the neighbouring towns; all of whom, while they extol you to the skies with the loudest praises, presently return the greatest thanks to me. For they say they cannot doubt but that it is in consequence of my instructions and advice, that you shew yourself so excellent a citizen, and so distinguished a Consul. To whom, though I might most truly reply, that what you do, you do from your own judgment and inclination, and that you need nobody's advice; yet I neither quite assent, lest I should seem to lessen your praise, if it were all owing to my counsels; neither do I strongly deny it; for, you know, I am, more than enough, covetous of glory. Besides, it is not unbecoming your dignity, (what was thought honorable to Agamemnon himself, the king of kings) to have some Nestor in forming your counsels; while to me it is most glorious that you, a young Consul, should flourish in praises, as the pupil of my institution. L. Cæsar, when I saw him sick at Naples, though he was suffering from pains all over his body, yet, almost before he saluted me, "O my Cicero, said he, I congratulate you
" upon having such influence with Dolabella;
" which if I had with my sister's son,³ we might
" already be safe. Congratulate also and thank

³ Antonius.

“ your Dolabella, who, since your own consul-
“ ship, is the only one whom I can truly call a
“ Consul.” He went on to say a great deal about
the case, and the part you had taken ; and de-
clared that nothing was ever done more noble,
nothing more famous, nothing more salutary to
the Republic ; and in this all with one voice agree.
I must beg you then to let me enter upon this
false inheritance, as it were, of another’s glory,
and in some measure become a partner in
your praises. But in truth, my Dolabella, (for
hitherto I have been joking) I would sooner
transfer to you all my own praises, if indeed I
have any ; than draw off any part from yours.
For having always had that affection for you,
of which you are the best judge ; yet with
these actions I am so wonderfully inflamed,
that no affection ever was stronger. For no-
thing, believe me, is more becoming, nothing
more beautiful, nothing more lovely, than vir-
tue. I have always, as you know, loved M.
Brutus for his great abilities, his sweet disposi-
tion, his distinguished probity and firmness ; yet
the 15th of March produced such an accession
to my love, that I wondered there should have
been any room for the increase of what seemed
already at the full. Who would have thought
that any addition could have been made to the
love I bare you ? Yet such is the addition,
that I seem to myself now at length to love,

before only to have liked. Why then should I exhort you to regard your own dignity and glory? Should I propose to you the examples of eminent men, as they do, who use exhortations? I have nobody to propose more eminent than yourself. It is yourself you must imitate; with yourself you must contend. It is not allowable for you now, after such noble deeds, not to be like yourself. Which being the case, exhortation is needless. We ought rather to congratulate you. For that has happened to you, which has happened, I believe, to nobody else; that the utmost severity of punishment has not only been inflicted without exciting ill-will, but has even been popular; and while it has gratified every good man, it has likewise pleased every one of the lowest class. If this were the effect of chance, I would congratulate your good fortune; but it is the effect of your own greatness of mind, your understanding, and judgment. For I have read your speech, than which nothing can be more prudent. So step by step have you gone back to the cause of what was done, and again returned from it; that the case itself, by the confession of every body, was ripe for your animadversion. You have saved therefore both the city from danger, and the state from fear; and have conferred a benefit not merely temporary, but of lasting example. You ought

consequently to understand that the Republic reposes on you ; and that those persons, from whom it has derived a commencement of liberty, are by you not only to be protected, but rewarded with honors. But on these matters I hope very soon to say more in person. Since it is you, who preserve the Republic and us, take especial care, my Dolabella, of our own safety.

LETTER XVIII.

You repeatedly attack me because I appear too extravagantly to extol this action of Dolabella's. But, while I certainly approve of what has been done, I have been led by more than one of your letters to this high strain of commendation. Dolabella however has wholly forfeited your opinion by the same cause, which has likewise made me very much his enemy. The modest man ! He ought to have paid the 1st of January, and he has not paid yet ; though he was set free from an enormous debt by the hand of Faberius,¹ and begged from him the

¹ This Faberius appears to have been a clerk to Cæsar, and since made a tool of Antonius to insert in Cæsar's instructions what he thought fit. It was by such means that Antonius got possession of Cæsar's money ; with some of which he bought Dolabella's concurrence in his schemes.

assistance of Ops². For it is allowable to jest, that you may not think me too much disturbed. It was early on the 8th that I sent my letter; and I received yours the evening of the same day in Pompeianum, by a quick conveyance of two³ days. But, as I sent you word the very same day, I wrote a sharp letter to Dolabella; and if this has no effect, yet I apprehend he will not resist my personal application. I imagine you have settled the Albian account. What you have furnished me from the Patulcian account, is most acceptable, and like every thing you do. I thought Eros, whom I had left, was made for settling such affairs, which have got into confusion by his great mismanagement. But I must see about this with him. You will take upon yourself, as I have often mentioned to you, the whole concern of Montanus's business. I am not at all surprised at Servius's desponding conversation with you at the time of his departure; nor do I in any respect yield to him in despondency. If our friend Brutus, that excellent man, does not go into the Senate on the 1st of June, I do not

² Cæsar's treasure had been secured in the temple of Ops; and in Latin the same word signifies also *assistance*: from whence arises the matter of Cicero's jest.

³ What is expressed in Latin *the third day*, is really the *next day but one*. In this sense it is used in the Gospels on the occasion of our Lord's Resurrection; and so in fact it is always used by Roman authors.

understand what he means to do in the forum. But he knows best. By what I perceive to be going on, I judge there has not been much gained by the 15th of March. Therefore I think daily more and more about going into Greece. For I do not see how I can be of any use to my Brutus, who, as you say, is himself thinking of leaving the country. I am not at all satisfied with Leonidas's letter. Respecting Herodes, I agree with you. I should like to have read Saufeius's⁴ account. I design to leave Pompeianum the 10th of May.

LETTER XIX.

ON the 7th of May while I was in Pompeianum I received two letters from you, one the sixth, the other the fourth day after their dates. I shall reply to them in their order. I am very glad that Barnæus should have delivered my letter to you so seasonably. You will manage with Cassius, as you do every thing else. How fortunate, that I should have written to him, upon the very point you advise, four days before, and should have sent you a copy of my

⁴ Some letter on the subject of the young Cicero from Saufeius, who may probably have been at this time at Athens.

letter. But while I was in despair about Dolabella's deficiency, or paylessness¹ (to use your own expression), behold Brutus's letter, and yours. He is thinking of quitting the country. But I see a different haven² nearer to one of my age; into which I should like better to be conveyed, while our Brutus is flourishing, and the Republic established. But now, as you say, there is no choice. For you agree with me that my age is unsuitable to arms, especially to those of civil wars. Antonius wrote to me only about Clodius;³ that my gentleness and kindness was gratifying to himself, and would be a source of great satisfaction to me. But Pansa seems to be outrageous on the subject of Clodius, and likewise on that of Deiotarus; and uses severe language, if you choose to believe him. This however is not so well in my mind; that he vehemently reprobates this act of Dolabella's. Respecting those who wore chaplets;⁴ your sister's son upon being accused by his father, wrote in answer, that he had worn a chaplet in honor of Cæsar; and had put it off on account of his mourning; in short,

¹ The original Greek may perhaps have been a word of Atticus's coining, of which I have endeavoured to express the meaning in a similar manner in English.

² Death. Cicero was at this time in his 63d year.

³ This is probably in reply to some question of Atticus upon the subject of Antonius's letter.

⁴ See Letter XIV.

that he was ready to bear every reproach, for that he loved Cæsar even dead. I have written to Dolabella very explicitly, as you wished me to do. I have also written to Sicca. I would not put this trouble upon you; and should be sorry to have him angry with you. I know Servius's manner of talking,⁵ in which I see more of alarm, than of wisdom. But since we are all alarmed, I assent to Servius. Publius⁶ has been trifling with you. For Cærellia⁷ has been sent hither by these people to negotiate with me. But I soon persuaded her that what she asked was not only not agreeable to me, but not even admissible. If I see Antonius, I will use all diligence about Buthrotum. I come now to your last letter (though on the subject of Servius, I have already replied) that I exalt Dolabella's deed. In truth I think it could not have been better in such a case, and at such a time. But whatever I attribute to him, I do it from your letters. Yet I agree with you, that it would be a better deed, if he paid me what he owes. I wish Brutus would occupy Astura. You commend me for making no determination about going abroad till I see how things are likely to turn out; but I have changed my purpose. How-

⁵ See Letter xviii.

⁶ See Book xii. Letter xxxii.

⁷ See Book xiii. Letter xxi.

ever, I shall do nothing till I see you. I am pleased with Attica's returning thanks to me about her mother; to whom I have given up my whole house and stores; and I hope to see her again on the 11th. Give my compliments to Attica; I will take good care of Pilia.

LETTER XX.

I WENT by sea from Pompeianum to my friend Lucullus's on the 10th, where I arrived about 9 o'clock; and upon quitting the vessel I got your letter dated the 7th, which your messenger was said to have carried to Cumanum. The next day I received another from Lucullus about the same hour on which I had arrived; and I received one on the 9th dated from Lanuvium. Hear therefore my reply to all of them. In the first place, I am much pleased with what has been done in my concerns respecting both the payment, and the business of Albius. But with regard to your Buthrotum, Antonius came to Misenum while I was in Pompeianum; and he had left it again before I heard of his being there. From thence he went to Samnium; so that I can give you little hope of my meeting him. The business of Buthrotum

must therefore be managed at Rome. L. Antonius's¹ harangue is quite horrible; Dolabella's excellent. Now² let him keep the money to himself, if he will but pay it on the 15th. I should be sorry if Tertulla³ were to miscarry; for Cassius's need to be reared, as well as Brutus's. I should be glad to know what is become of the Queen,⁴ and also of the young Cæsar.⁵ I have done with your first letter, and come now to the second. About the Quintus's, and Buthrotum, when I come, as you say. I am much obliged for your advances to Cicero. You think I am mistaken in supposing that the Republic depends upon Brutus; but so it is. It will either cease to exist; or it will be preserved by him, or his party. To your advice of my sending up⁶ a written speech, let me, my Atticus, reply by a general maxim on these subjects, in which I am pretty well versed. There never was any poet, or orator, who thought any body superior to himself. This is the case even with bad ones. What do you think then of Brutus, who has

¹ He was brother to M. Antonius, and at this time one of the Tribunes of the people. He proposed to make a further grant of lands to the people, to secure their support for his brother; in which he was opposed by Dolabella.

² In consideration of his patriotic conduct.

³ Wife of Cassius. ⁴ Cleopatra.

⁵ The son of Cleopatra by Cæsar.

⁶ For the use of Brutus.

both genius, and learning? Of whom also I have had some experience lately on the subject of his edict. I composed one at your request. I liked mine; he liked his own. Nay, when I had addressed to him my treatise on the best style of oratory, which I was induced to do almost at his earnest solicitation, he wrote word, not to me only, but to you also, that what I recommended he did not approve. Therefore leave every body, I beg, to write for himself. "Every one his own wife, mine for me; every one his own taste, mine for me." I cannot say much for the style of this, being taken from Attilius, a very harsh poet. I wish only that he⁷ may be allowed to address the people at all; for if he is allowed to remain in the city in safety, the cause is ours. For either nobody will follow the leader of a new civil war; or those will follow, who may easily be overpowered. I come to the third letter. I am glad that Brutus and Cassius were pleased with my letter; and have in consequence written to them again. With regard to their wish that Hirtius may be made better through me; I use my best endeavours; and he talks most honorably; but he lives and is domesticated with Balbus, who talks honorably likewise: you must judge what you are to believe. I see you are greatly pleased with Dolabella;

⁷ Brutus.

I am exceedingly so. I lived with Pansa in Pompeianum; who quite convinced me of his upright sentiments, and his desire of peace; but I see clearly that some people are seeking for an occasion of war. I approve of the proclamation of Brutus and Cassius. You ask me to take upon myself the consideration of what I think they ought to do. But opinions depend upon the time; which fluctuates every hour. That first act of Dolabella's, and this speech in opposition to Antonius, seem to me to have done much. The cause was utterly sinking. Now we appear likely to have a leader; which is the only thing the free towns and all good people want. You speak of Epicurus, and venture to pronounce that one should abstain from politics.⁸ Does not the dear look of my Brutus deter you from such language? Q. the son, as you mention, is the right hand of Antonius. Through him therefore we shall easily carry what we wish.⁹ If, as you suppose, L. Antonius should bring forwards Octavius, I am anxious to know how he will address the people. I write this in haste; for Cassius's messenger is setting off immediately. I am going presently to pay my compliments to Pilia; then by water to feast with Vestorius. My best compliments to Attica.

⁸ It will be recollected that the leading principle of Epicurus's philosophy was to consult our own ease.

⁹ Respecting Buthrotum.

LETTER XXI.

Soon after I had delivered to Cassius's messenger my letter to you on the 11th, my own messenger arrived, and (what was like a prodigy) without any letter from you. But it presently occurred to me that you must have been at Lanuvium. Eros was the more in a hurry,¹ that I might get a letter from Dolabella. He did not write about my business,² for he had not yet received mine; but it was in answer to that, of which I sent a copy to you, and was well expressed. As soon as I had dispatched Cassius's messenger, I received a visit from Balbus. Gracious gods! how easily might you perceive his dread of quiet! You know the man, how reserved he is; but yet he spake freely of Antonius's designs, who was going round to the veteran soldiers, to secure the ratification of Cæsar's acts, and to make them swear to enforce them every where; for which purpose the Duumviri³ were to examine them every month. He complained also of his own unpopularity; and his whole con-

¹ Dispatched his messenger the sooner.

² The payment of his debt to Cicero.

³ The free towns of Italy were governed by two magistrates, called Duumviri, in imitation of the Roman Consuls.

versation shewed his attachment to Antonius. In short, there is no relying upon any thing.⁴ To me it is no longer doubtful that affairs tend to war. For that deed⁵ has been done with a manly spirit, but with the prudence of a child. Who did not see that there was left an heir⁶ to the kingdom? What could be more absurd? "To fear this; to have no apprehension about "the other."⁷ Nay, at this very time there are many inconsistencies; as that Pontius's Neapolitan villa should be held by the mother⁸ of the tyrant-killer. I must read again and again my Cato the elder,⁹ which I sent you; for age makes me peevish; I am out of humour with every thing. But my life has had its course;¹⁰ let younger men see to it. You will continue to watch over my concerns, as you do. I write, or rather dictate, this, while the dessert is upon the table, at Vestorius's. I intend to-morrow to be with Hirtius; and thus forsooth I hope to bring over to the honest

⁴ For Balbus had talked honorably of serving the Republic. See Letter xx.

⁵ The assassination of Cæsar.

⁶ Antonius.

⁷ The original is a verse, of which notice has before been taken. See Book xii. Letter lvi.

⁸ Servilia, who had been a favorite of Cæsar, and received a grant of land forfeited by some of the Pompeian party. ⁹ Cicero's essay on old age, so entitled.

¹⁰ He was now about 63.

party one of the five that are left!¹¹ It is a great delusion. There is no one of them, who does not dread a state of quiet. Let me then put wings to my feet; for any thing is better than to engage in war. Pray give my best compliments to Attica. I am eager for Octavius's speech, and any thing else there may be; particularly, whether Dolabella's money begins to clink,¹² or if he has altogether cancelled my account.

LETTER XXII.

HAVING understood from Pilia that a messenger was to be sent to you, I have immediately scrawled something. In the first place then I wish you to know that I go from hence to Arpinum the 17th of May; so that hereafter you will direct thither, if there is any thing; though I shall myself presently be at Rome.

¹¹ I have endeavoured to give what appear the most probable signification of the Greek word of the text. I suspect that many of these words are borrowed from Atticus, who may possibly have designated by the appellation of *πενήλοιστοι* some five principal supporters of Cæsar's party, one of whom might be Hirtius. From *πενήλοιστοι* Cicero may humorously have derived *πενήλοιστον*.

¹² If he is preparing to pay me.

But I wish, before I arrive, to find out more accurately what is likely to happen; though I fear my conjectures may prove too true. For it is sufficiently clear what they aim at. My pupil,¹ who dines with me to day, is greatly attached to him whom our Brutus stabbed; and, if you ask me, I plainly perceive they dread a state of quiet. This position they hold, and openly maintain; that he who has been killed, was a most distinguished man, and that the whole state is thrown into disorder by his death; that what he did, would be without effect, as soon as we lay aside our fears; that his own clemency was his ruin, without which nothing of the kind could have happened to him. What occurs to me is, that if Pompeius² comes up with a firm army, which is probable, there will certainly be war. The very idea and thought of this disturbs me. For what was formerly allowed to you,³ will not now be allowed to me. I have not concealed my joy;⁴ besides, they are fond of charging me with ingratitude. So that what was formerly allowed to you and many others, will on no account be allowed. Must I declare myself then, and go into the field? It is better to die a thousand times, especially at this age. The 15th of March

¹ Hirtius. See Letter XII.

² Sextus Pompeius.

³ To take no part in the civil war.

⁴ Joy at Cæsar's death.

therefore is not so great a consolation, as it was, because of the great blunder that it embraces. Still those young⁵ men "by their "other well doings put out this reproach."⁶ But if you have any better hope, since you both hear more, and are admitted to their counsels, I wish you would write to me, and at the same time consider what I should do about a votive legation.⁷ Many people in these parts warn me not to attend the Senate on the first, as soldiers are said to be secretly engaged for that day, and expressly against the conspirators, who, I apprehend, will be safer any where, than in the Senate.

³ The conspirators, who were all much younger than Cicero.

⁶ The original is a verse from some unknown Greek poet.

⁷ A leave of absence on some fictitious appointment. See Letter v. and elsewhere.

BOOK XV.

LETTER I.

O SAD news of Alexion.¹ It is not to be believed how much I am afflicted ; and that, not on account of what most persons suggest, asking what physician I should employ ? For what have I now to do with a physician ? Or if I should want one, is there such a scarcity ? What I have lost is his affection towards me, his kindness, and gentleness. This consideration also affects me ; what is not to be feared, when so temperate a man, so consummate a physician, is unexpectedly carried off by the violence of disease ? For all this the only consolation is, that it is the condition of our birth that we should submit to whatever is incident to humanity. Respecting Antonius, I have already written to say that I had not met with

¹ This physician was before mentioned. See Book vii. Letter ii.

him. For he came to Misenum while I was in Pompeianum, and was gone again before I knew of his arrival. But it happened that Hirtius was with me in Puteolanum when I read your letter. I read it to him, and entered upon the subject. In what relates to the first part,² he was not less earnest than myself; and in conclusion he appointed me the arbiter not only of this business, but of his whole Consulship. With Antonius I will so manage, as to let him understand, that if he satisfies me in this affair, I will give myself wholly to him. I hope Dolabella is at home.³ Let us come now to our friends,⁴ of whom you say you entertain good expectations in consequence of the moderation of their proclamations. But I learned Hirtius's real sentiments, when he left me on the 16th to go from Puteolanum to Naples for the sake of meeting Pansa. For I took him aside, and counselled him in favor of peace. He could not deny that he was desirous of peace; but he feared the arms of our friends, no less than those of Antonius. He confessed it was not without reason that both parties had a guard; but for his own part he was afraid of the arms of both. In short, there is no relying upon any thing. About young

² This no doubt regards the business of Buthrotum.

³ That is, at Rome, where he could forward the business.

⁴ Brutus and Cassius.

Quintus I agree with you. Your letter to his father was extremely handsome, and could not fail of being most agreeable. I had no difficulty in satisfying Cærellia, who did not appear very solicitous;⁵ and if she were, assuredly I should not be so. I am surprized you should have listened at all to the lady,⁶ who you say was so troublesome to you. For as to my having spoken well of her before her friends, in the hearing of her three sons and her daughter; “the same person does not always utter the same thing.”⁷ What is this? What is it that should make me walk about in an assumed character? Is not old age of itself a character sufficiently disgusting? What Brutus requests, that I would go to him previously to the first,⁸ he has mentioned also in a letter to me, and I may probably do so; but I cannot at all tell what he wants. For what counsel can I give him, who am in need of counsel myself? While he has consulted his own immortalization, better than our tranquillity. The

⁵ About Cicero's taking back Publilia. See Book xiv. Letter xix.

⁶ Publilia's mother.

⁷ The original is in Greek, and seems to be quoted as a proverbial sentence. It means that there is now no reason why he should disguise his real sentiments, although he may have done so before. Old age is bad enough, without making it worse by assuming a false character.

⁸ The first of June, on which day he designed to go to Rome, where the Senate was summoned.

report about the Queen⁹ will soon be extinguished. Pray remember about Flamma,¹⁰ if there is any thing you can do. Yesterday I sent you a letter as I was going from Puteolanum ; and I turned aside to Cumanum, where I saw Pilia almost well. I saw her besides at Baulos near Cumæ ; for she had come to attend a funeral, at which I likewise assisted. Cn. Lucullus, my intimate friend, was carrying his mother to her grave. That day therefore I staid in Sinuessanum, and the next morning setting out for Arpinum I scrawl this letter. I have nothing new however to tell you, or to ask you ; unless perhaps you think what follows to be of any consequence. Our Brutus has sent me the speech he delivered at the meeting in the Capitol, and has desired me to correct it (but not with a view to excite applause,) before he publishes it. The speech is written with great elegance of sentiments and expression, so that nothing can exceed it. Yet, if I had had the same cause to conduct, I should have treated it with more warmth ; you see what the subject is, and who is the person that speaks. I have therefore been unable to correct it ; for in the style which our Brutus prefers, and agreeably to his judgment of the best

⁹ Cleopatra. What was the report alluded to, is uncertain.

¹⁰ In the affair of Montanus. See Book XIV. Letter XVI.

method of speaking, he has so well succeeded in this oration, that nothing can be more elegant. But I alone, whether rightly, or not, am of a different opinion. I wish however that you would read the speech, unless you have read it already; and would let me know what you think of it. Though I fear you may be misled by your name,¹¹ and may be over-attic in your judgment. But if you will call to mind the thunders of Demosthenes, you will understand that what is consummately attic may be strongly expressed. But of these things when we meet. I did not care to let Metrodorus go to you either without a letter, or with a letter that contained nothing.

LETTER II.

ON the 18th, on my way from Sinuessanum, after I had sent my letter to you, and had proceeded from Cumæ to Viscianum, I received your's from the messenger. There was more than enough in it about Buthrotum. For you do not, nor can you, take a greater interest in that business, than I do. It is thus proper for you to attend to my concerns, and me to yours. I have accordingly undertaken this so, that I

¹¹ Atticus. It will be recollected that the attic style was esteemed the perfection of good writing.

shall esteem nothing of superior obligation.¹ I learned from your letter, and from others, that L. Antonius had made a scurvy harangue; but what was the nature of it I do not know, for you said nothing. About Menedemus² it is quite right. Quintus³ must assuredly be dictating what you write. I am glad you approve of my reason for declining to compose what you ask'd of me;⁴ and you will approve it still more when you have read the speech, about which I wrote to you this morning. What you mention about the legions is perfectly true;⁵ but you do not seem sufficiently to have consider'd what you can hope to have done by the Senate in the affair of our Buthrotians. As far as my opinion goes (for I see so much), I do not think we⁶ shall long subsist. But even if we are disappointed of this resource,⁷ you will

¹ How well he fulfilled this promise, is manifested by his letters still extant to Plancus and Capito. See Appendix.

² It is not known to what this alludes. The name occurs again Letter iv.

³ This evidently relating to something said in Atticus's letter, it is no wonder that it should no longer be intelligible.

⁴ See Letter xx. Book xiv.

⁵ This is supposed to allude to some legions which Antonius had lately recalled from Macedonia.

⁶ The Senate.

⁷ I understand this to mean, "even if we have not the senate to support us."

not be disappointed about Buthrotum.⁸ I feel as you do, on the subject of Octavius's speech ; and am not pleased with the preparations for his games,⁹ and the appointment of Matius and Postumius to conduct them. Saserna¹⁰ is a fit colleague for them. But all these people, as you perceive, are as much afraid of peace, as we are of war. I should be glad if I could relieve Balbus from the odium he has incurred ;¹¹ but he does not himself believe it to be possible. Therefore he turns his attention elsewhere. I am glad that you derive comfort from the first Tusculan Disquisition ; for there is no resource either better, or readier.¹² I am not sorry that Flamma speaks so fairly. What may be the case of the Tyndaritani,¹³ in which you are so earnest, I know not ; yet I will give them my support.¹⁴ These transactions seem to move

⁸ We shall be able to accomplish our purpose through Antonius.

⁹ Games that had been promised by Cæsar, and were now celebrated by Octavius to gain the affections of the populace.

¹⁰ Saserna, Matius, and Postumius, were all partizans of Cæsar.

¹¹ Balbus, though friendly to Cicero, was attached to Cæsar, and therefore suspected of ill will to the cause of Brutus and the Republic. See Book XIV. Letter XX.

¹² The first Tusculan Disquisition is upon the contempt of death.

¹³ A people of Sicily.

¹⁴ So this imperfect sentence ought probably to be completed.

this one-of-the-five;¹⁵ especially the expenditure of the money.¹⁶ I am sorry for Alexion; yet having fallen into so severe an illness, I think that he has been kindly dealt with. I should like to know who are his heirs in the second degree,¹⁷ and what is the date of his will.

LETTER III.

I RECEIVED two letters from you on the 22d in Atinas, in answer to two of mine. One was dated the 18th, the other the 21st. To the earliest therefore first. Pray come to Tusculanum, as you propose. I mean to be there the 27th. When you say that we must submit to the conquerors, I do not agree with you; for many things appear to me preferable. As to what you recollect to have been done in the temple of Apollo during the consulship of Lentulus and Marcellus;¹ neither the case, nor the time is similar; especially as you mention that Marcellus and others are taking their depar-

¹⁵ Hirtius. See Book XIV. Letter XXI. note 10.

¹⁶ Antonius's expenditure of the money taken from the Temple of Ops.

¹⁷ After the failure of the first heirs.

¹ At the breaking out of the civil war, when the Senate united with Pompeius, and invested the consuls with extraordinary authority to provide for the safety of the Republic.

ture. I must therefore find out, and determine, on the spot, whether I can safely remain in Rome. These new meetings alarm the inhabitants :² for we are placed in great straits. But let these things be disregarded ; I can look upon still greater with unconcern. I have been made acquainted with Calva's will, a base and sordid fellow. I thank you for the care you take about Demonicus's accounts. I have already written very particularly to Dolabella about Marius, if only my letter has been delivered. For his sake I wish him success, as indeed I ought. I come now to the more recent letter. I have learned what I wanted about Alexion.³ Hirtius is in your interest.⁴ I wish Antonius were worse, than he is.⁵ You mention Quintus the son. A store of evils ! Of the father we will speak when we meet. I am desirous of assisting Brutus in every thing I can. I see you entertain the same opinion of his speech, that I do. But I do not quite understand what you wish me to write, as if it were a speech delivered by Brutus ; when he has himself published his own. How can this be ? Would you have it as against a tyrant,

² The meetings of the veteran soldiers in the country towns.

³ See Letter II.

⁴ On the subject of Buthrotum

⁵ This must be supposed to relate to some passage in Atticus's letter, where he mentioned that Antonius was ill.

who had been justly killed? I shall have much to say, and much to write; but it must be in another manner and time. The tribunes have done well about Cæsar's chair.⁶ And excellent the fourteen rows of knights. I am glad Brutus has been at my house, provided he was pleased, and staid as long as he liked.

LETTER IV.

ON the 23d about two o'clock a messenger arrived from Q. Fufius with a letter containing something about my restoring myself to him;¹ as silly as usual; unless perhaps whatever we dislike, is apt to appear silly. I replied in a manner that I think you would approve. He brought me two letters from you, one of the 22d, the other the 23d. I shall answer the latter first. "And the legion?"² I applaud the

⁶ It had been decreed, in flattery to Cæsar, that he should have a gilt chair in the Senate and public places. Octavius wished to have this chair placed, in memory of Cæsar, at the games; but the tribunes forbad it; on which account they seem to have been applauded by the knights in the theatre, where they sat in fourteen rows of benches reserved by law for their exclusive use.

¹ This expression may probably be copied from Fufius's Letter.

² This is copied from Atticus's letter, and no doubt alludes to the martial legion under the command of Carfulenus, which deserted from Antonius at this time.

circumstance. And if Carfulenus too; the streams, as they say, will run upwards.³ You take notice of the factious counsels of Antonius. I wish he may act through the populace, rather than through the Senate; and I imagine this is likely to be the case. But to me all his measures have a warlike tendency. If indeed Decimus Brutus's province is snatched away, whatever I may think of his strength, it seems impossible to be done without a war. But for this I do not wish, now that assurance⁴ is given to the Buthrotians. You may smile; but I am sorry that this should not rather have been accomplished by my attention, diligence, and influence. When you say that you do not know what is to become of our friends;⁵ the same doubt has long since given me concern; so that the consolation I derived from the 15th of March already appears foolish? for we have shewn a manly spirit, but, believe me, a childish prudence. The tree has been cut down,

³ The original is a Greek proverbial expression, signifying that it would be beyond all expectation: for Carfulenus had been a firm friend to Cæsar. In fact he did not join Brutus, but Octavius.

⁴ May not this refer to the unwarranted assertion of some foolish person saying that he would be answerable for the safety of the Buthrotians? which Cicero pleasantly ridicules. Had a war broke out, it might be expected that Antonius would be otherwise employed than in settling soldiers in Buthrotum.

⁵ The conspirators.

not torn up by the roots ; and you see accordingly how it sprouts. Let us have recourse then to the Tusculan Disquisitions, since you often appeal to them. We must endeavour⁶ to conceal this from Saufeius ; for my part I will never tell. You say that Brutus has written to inquire on what day I should go to Tusculanum. As I before mentioned to you, the 27th ; and I hope to see you there as soon as possible ; for I apprehend I shall be obliged to proceed to Lanuvium,⁷ where there will be a great deal of talking. But I shall see about it. I revert now to the earlier letter, of which I pass over that first part relative to the Buthrotians, which is lodged in my inmost soul ; if only, as you say, there is any opportunity of acting. You seem quite earnest on the subject of Brutus's speech, by urging it again so copiously. Should I then support the same cause for which he has written ? should I write without his invitation ? No interference can be more disrespectful. But, say you, something in the manner of Heraclides.⁸ To that indeed I do not object ; but the subject must be well considered, and we must wait for a

⁶ This is said in jest, with reference to Saufeius's attachment to the sect of Epicurus ; while the Tusculan Disquisitions are conducted upon principles totally opposite. It will be remembered that Atticus was also an Epicurean.

⁷ Brutus and Cassius were at Lanuvium.

⁸ Heraclides appears to have written a book of political memoirs, which has not come down to us.

riper season of writing. For, whatever you may think of me (and I should certainly wish you to think the best possible) if things remain, as they promise (you will bear what I am going to say), the 15th of March affords me no satisfaction. For he⁹ would never have returned; and we should not have been compelled by fear to confirm his acts. Or (to adopt Saufeius's maxims,¹⁰ and renounce those Tusculan Disquisitions, to which you also invite Vestorius)¹¹ so gracious towards me was he (whom even dead may the gods confound!) that, since we have not by his death regained our liberty, there was no reason, at my age, to dislike him for a master. I blush, believe me. But I have already written, and will not erase it. I could have wished the report about Menedemus had been true; and wish that about the Queen may be so. The rest when we meet; especially what measures our friends should pursue; what also ourselves, if Antonius means to beset the Senate with soldiers.

⁹ Cæsar would probably never have returned safe from his projected Parthian expedition. This appears to be said partly in reference to the actual danger of the war, which had already been fatal to Crassus's army; and partly in reference to the unstable and invidious nature of Cæsar's power. See Book x. Letter viii.

¹⁰ The maxims of the Epicureans, who profess to consult only their own ease.

¹¹ This must allude to something said, very likely in jest, by Atticus.

If I had given this letter to his messenger, I was afraid he might open it. I have therefore sent on purpose ; for your's required an answer..

¹² How much I wish you could have given Brutus your assistance. I will therefore write to him. I have sent Tiro to Dolabella with a letter and instructions. Desire him to come to you ; and if you have any thing to say, write what you please. But see here ! most provokingly, L. Cæsar begs me either to go to him at The Grove,¹³ or to let him know where he may find me ; for Brutus wished him to have some conversation with me. A hateful and fruitless job ! I think however I shall go, and from thence to Rome, unless I change my present purpose. I send you this in few words, for there is yet nothing from Balbus. I am therefore expecting to hear from you, and not only what has been done, but also what will be done.

LETTER V.

THE messenger, that went to Brutus, has brought back letters from him and Cassius. They earnestly desire my opinion ; Brutus indeed, which

¹² There is every reason to think this must be the beginning of a separate letter.

¹³ Near to Aricia, where Cæsar had built a house. See Book vi. Letter i.

of the two plans¹ he should adopt. O sad state of affairs! I have positively nothing to say, and therefore think of maintaining silence, unless you suggest something different. But if any thing occurs to you, pray write me word. Cassius strongly begs and entreats me to make a good citizen of Hirtius. Do you think he is in his senses? 'Tis the fuller and the coals.² I send you his letter. What you say respecting a decree of the Senate for the provinces of Brutus and Cassius,³ is repeated by Balbus and by Hirtius; and the latter purposes himself to bring it on; for he is already in Tusculanum. He strongly advises me to keep away. He does this on account of the danger; which he says threatened him also. But for my part, even if there were no danger, I am so far from caring to prevent Antonius's suspicions of my dissatisfaction at his success; that the wish of avoiding him, is of itself a reason why I am unwilling to go to Rome. Our friend Varro has sent me a letter, which he received from I know not whom (for he had erased the name,) in which

¹ Whether he should go up to Rome the 1st of June; or should retire from Italy.

² In the uncertainty of a doubtful text, I read *ὁ γυναιχεὺς ἀνθρακας*, "the fuller attempting to clean coals;" for he considered it a fruitless endeavour to reclaim him from Cæsar's party to favor Brutus and Cassius.

³ To whom provinces would naturally be decreed, as to Prætors, at the expiration of their office.

it was mentioned, that those veteran soldiers, whose claims⁴ were rejected (for some of them were dismissed,) talked very seditiously; so that whoever was thought to have opposed their interests, would be in great danger at Rome. Besides, how should I manage my going, my returning, my countenance, my step, amongst that party?⁵ And if, as you say, L. Antonius is to go against Decimus,⁶ the rest against our friends;⁷ what should I do? or how should I conduct myself? I have therefore determined, as matters now stand, to absent myself from that city, in which I have not only flourished with the highest dignity, but have enjoyed some share of it even under subjection. Yet I am not so much resolved to go out of Italy, (upon which I must deliberate with you) as not to go up thither.⁸

LETTER VI.

OUR friend Brutus has written to me, and likewise Cassius, that I might use my authority to secure Hirtius, whom they knew to have been hitherto well affected, though they

⁴ Claims of a portion of land.

⁵ Cæsar's friends.

⁶ Decimus Brutus.

⁷ M. Brutus, and the other conspirators.

⁸ To Rome.

could not entirely depend upon him. For I apprehend he is displeased with Antonius, but still attached to that cause. However, I wrote, recommending to him the dignity of Brutus and Cassius; and wish you to be acquainted with his answer, in case you should draw from it the same conclusion, as I do, that the opposite party are even now afraid of our friends' possessing more spirit, than they really have.

“ Hirtius to his Cicero.

“ You ask if I am yet returned from the
“ country; or whether at a time when every
“ body is in activity, I am amusing myself in
“ idleness? I likewise have quitted the city;
“ for I thought it more useful to absent my-
“ self. I write this on my way to Tusculanum.
“ And I would not have you suppose me so
“ strenuous, as to return on the 5th; for I see
“ nothing that demands my attention, the ap-
“ pointments being provided for so many
“ years.¹ As Brutus and Cassius may obtain
“ any thing of me through you; so I wish that
“ by you they may as easily be induced to
“ enter into no intemperate counsels. For
“ you say, that at the time they wrote to you,
“ they were retiring. Whither? or where-
“ fore? Stop them, I beseech you, my Cicero;

¹ Cæsar, preparatory to his Parthian expedition, had nominated the magistrates for several years in advance.

“ and suffer not all these things to perish, which
“ must be utterly ruined by plunder, by fire,
“ by slaughter. Only, if they have any cause
“ of fear, let them be upon their guard; but let
“ them attempt nothing more. In good truth
“ they will gain no more by violent counsels,
“ than by gentle ones, provided they are prudent.
“ For this state of things, which is passing on,
“ is not of a nature to last; but by
“ opposition it presently assumes a power of
“ doing mischief. Write to me in Tusculanum,
“ and let me know what hopes you have of
“ them.”

This is Hirtius's letter; to which I replied, that they entertained no intemperate designs; and this I confidently affirmed. This, such as it is, I wished you to know. Since sealing my letter, I have heard from Balbus that Servilia had returned, and confirmed the opinion that they would not go out of the country. I am now expecting a letter from you.

LETTER VII.

I THANK you for the letters you sent me, which indeed gave me much pleasure; especially that of our friend Sextus.¹ You will say, “ because

¹ This is generally supposed to mean Sextus Peduceus, of whom mention is made, Book VII. Letter XIII. and Book X. Letter I.

he commends you." I think indeed that may be one reason ; but yet before I came to that part, I was exceedingly pleased both with his sentiments in regard to the Republic, and with the accuracy of his writing. The peace-maker Servius² with his little clerk, seems to have acted as an ambassador, and to be afraid of any captious proceeding. But he ought to have considered, that " it was no struggle of right," but what follows.³ Let me hear also from you.

LETTER VIII.

AFTER you left me I received two letters from Balbus ; no news. Also one from Hirtius, who represents himself to be highly offended with the conduct of the veteran troops. I am anxious to know what they will do about the first of March.¹ I have therefore sent Tiro, and

² Servius Sulpicius, a distinguished lawyer, who may perhaps on that account be represented as attended by his clerk. He is mentioned before. See Book x. Letter xiv.

³ The original is from Ennius—" it is no struggle of right, but rather of arms ; they aim at a kingdom, and proceed by main force."

¹ Commentators have not without reason suspected some error of the text. It ought probably to be written " the 1st of June." If that is not the case, it must relate to something no longer understood.

several others with him, that whatever happens you may write to me by one of them. I have besides written to Antonius about an honorary legation, lest being an irritable man, he might be offended had I applied only to Dolabella. But as he is said to be difficult of access, I have written to Eutrapelus to present my letter to him, as having occasion for such an appointment. A votive legation is more honorable; but I may make use of both.² Again and again I beg you to take care of yourself. I wish you could come to me; but if you cannot, we will attain the same end by letter. Græceius sends me word, that C. Cassius had informed him there were men provided to be sent armed to Tusculanum. This does not appear to me probable; but yet it is right to be upon one's guard, and to go about from one villa to another.³ Tomorrow will produce something to direct us in the consideration of this business.

² A votive legation granted by the two Consuls, and an honorary lieutenancy from Dolabella. A votive legation was a nominal appointment in discharge of a vow. See Letter I.

³ To avoid being surprised. It should be mentioned however, that the text in this place is very doubtful.

LETTER IX.

ON the evening of the third I received a letter from Balbus, saying that the Senate was to meet on the 5th, for the purpose of appointing Brutus in Asia, Cassius in Sicily, to purchase corn for the use of the city. Wretched business! first, that they should receive any commission from these people; then, if any, that it should be such a lieutenant's commission.¹ I know not if it is better than sitting by the Eurotas.² But these things chance must govern. He says that at the same time a decree is to be passed for the allotment of the provinces to them, and to the rest of prætorian rank. This certainly is better than that Persic³ portico. For I would

¹ During the time of their Prætorship it is probable they could not be sent abroad but by some commission of this kind, which may have been devised by the friends of peace.

² The Eurotas was a river of Lacedæmon. The expression is probably a proverbial one, signifying, "to remain inactive," as Brutus and Cassius were doing at Lanuvium. The Romans used to give great names to their canals: "ductus aquarum isti Nilos et Euripos vocant." De Leg. 2, 1.

³ Having previously applied the name of Eurotas to the stream that flowed by Lanuvium, he goes on in the same figure of speech to call the portico of Lanuvium by the name of a portico at Lacedæmon; and concludes ironically, that he would not have Atticus suppose him to mean

not have that distant Lacedæmon supposed to mean Lanuvium. Do you laugh, you will say, in such a state of affairs? What should I do? I am tired of weeping. Immortal Gods! how the first page of your letter disturbed me! But what was that collision of arms in your house? I am glad however that this storm soon passed over. I am anxious to know what you have done with your commission⁴ at once so sad, and difficult of consultation. For it is indeed quite inextricable; so beset are we by all the troops. As for me, Brutus's letter, which you say you have read, has so disturbed me, that, though I was before at a loss, yet I am become duller than ever through distress of mind.⁵ But I will write more, when I am informed of what has been done. At present I have nothing to say, and the less, because I am doubtful if you will get this letter. For it is uncertain whether the messenger will see you. I am very anxious to hear from you.

Lanuvium; thus humourously giving the true interpretation of his own metaphor.

⁴ Atticus appears to have been solicited to go to Lanuvium for the purpose of advising with his friend Brutus in the present difficult situation. See Letter x.

⁵ It is probable that Atticus may have asked Cicero's opinion.

LETTER X.

How affectionately is Brutus's letter written! How unlucky this time, when you are prevented from going to him! But what can I write?¹ Should I advise him to accept the offer of these people? What more disgraceful? To attempt any thing? They dare not, neither can they. Come then, should I advise them to remain quiet? Who can answer for their safety? And if any violent measures are adopted with regard to Decimus, what will become of our friends, even if nobody offers to molest them? Not to celebrate the games?² What more dishonorable? To exact corn? How does it differ from that appointment of Dion?³ Or what office in the state is more contemptible? In such a situation of things, counsel is not safe even for the person who gives it. This however I might disregard, if I were doing any good. But to enter upon it without any prospect of advantage—While he listens to the advice, or even the entreaties, of his mother,

¹ To Brutus.

² This was the customary duty of the city Prætor.

³ Dion appears to have been formerly sent out of Sicily by Dionysius under color of some embassy, but really from the desire to remove one whom he feared.

why should I interfere? I will however think what kind of letter I can write; for I cannot bear to be silent. I will presently send therefore either to Antium, or to Circæi.⁴

LETTER XI.

I CAME to Antium on the 26th. Brutus was glad to see me. Afterwards, in the presence of several persons, and of Servilia, Tertulla, and Portia, he asked what I thought. Favonius also was there. I had meditated upon this as I went along, and gave it as my opinion, that he should accept this corn commission in Asia; that nothing now remained for us to do, but to secure ourselves; in which was involved the protection also of the Republic itself. After I had entered into this discourse, Cassius came in; upon which I repeated the same sentiments. At this place Cassius with animated looks (you would say Mars himself was breathing) declared he would not go into Sicily. "Shall I accept an offer which is intended as an insult?" "What then do you propose to do?" said I. To which he replied, that he would go into Greece. "And what, said I, will you do, Brutus?" "I will go to Rome,

⁴ To which places Brutus was going.

“ said he, if you advise it.” “ But I do by no means advise it, for you will not be safe.” “ But if I could be safe; would you then approve it?” “ So much so, that I would not have you go away at all, neither at this time, nor after your Prætorship. But I do not advise you to trust yourself in the city.” I added what will readily occur to you, why he would not be safe. A great deal was then said, and especially by Cassius, complaining of the opportunities which had been lost; and he heavily accused Decimus. I said we ought not to dwell upon his¹ past conduct; though at the same time I agreed with him. And having entered upon the consideration of what ought to have been done; without however saying any thing new, or any thing more than is said every day; (for I did not touch upon the subject of having omitted to strike any body else²) but only that the Senate ought to have been assembled, and the people more powerfully excited while their affections were yet warm: “ it is taking the management of the whole Republic, exclaims your female friend;³ this I never heard any body advance.” I checked

¹ That what is here said refers to Decimus only, appears from the context; for Cicero himself immediately proceeds to the consideration of their past errors.

² Meaning that Antonius ought to have been killed as well as Cæsar.

³ Servilia.

myself.⁴ At length Cassius seemed disposed to go into Sicily; (for Servilia engaged that the mention of the corn should be expunged from the Decree) and our friend⁵ was soon driven from that idle⁶ talk; for he said that he acquiesced. He determined therefore that the games should be celebrated in his name, but without his being present. And he appeared willing to proceed into Asia from Antium. Not to tire you; I had no satisfaction in that visit, besides the consciousness of having done my duty. For it was not to be suffered that he should leave Italy without my seeing him. Excepting for this debt of affection and kindness, I might say to myself—"What is "the use of your coming hither, O prophet?"⁷ I found the vessel⁸ shattered, or rather gone to pieces. Nothing was done with wisdom, nothing with prudence, nothing with regularity. So that if I before did not hesitate, yet still less do I now hesitate to fly away from hence; and that, as soon as possible; "where I may hear neither of the deeds,

⁴ So I understand it upon the authority of Cicero *De Leg.* 2, 18. *Reprimam jam, et non insequar longius.*

⁵ Brutus.

⁶ About going to Rome.

⁷ The original is a verse taken from some unknown Greek author.

⁸ The vessel of the state; a metaphor not unfrequent among Roman authors.

“nor the name of the Pelopidæ.”⁹ But while I think of it, let me inform you that Dolabella has appointed me his lieutenant from the 2d of April.¹⁰ I was told of it yesterday evening. A votive appointment you did not like; and indeed it was absurd, that having bound myself by vows “if the Republic should subsist,” I should now discharge them, when it is overturned. Besides, the honorary legations have, I think, a definite period by the Julian law; and it is not easy to a legation of this kind¹¹ to add leave to go in and out when you please; which is now granted to me. And the right which this licence gives me for five years is charming. Though why should I think of five years? The business appears to me to be contracted within a little space.¹² But let me not utter ill omens.

⁹ A verse of the poet Accius, quoted before. See Book XIV. Letter XII.

¹⁰ It is uncertain whether there is any error in this date, or whether there may have been some reason for the commission being antedated.

¹¹ One that is obtained for the discharge of a vow.

¹² That is, the cause of the Republic is reduced to a short term.

LETTER XII.

THIS is good news about Buthrotum. But I had already sent Tiro with a letter¹ to Dolabella, as you desired. What harm? I thought I had written sufficiently distinctly about our friends at Antium,² that you needed not to doubt of their remaining quiet, and accepting Antonius's insulting offer. Cassius scorned the business of the corn, which Servilia engaged to get expunged from the Decree of the Senate. But our friend,³ with all his dignity, said he would go into Asia, after he had agreed with me that he could not safely reside in Rome. For he thought it better to exhibit the games without being present. He was collecting vessels, and preparing for his passage. In the mean time they designed to remain in the same neighbourhood. Brutus talked of going to Astura.⁴ L. Antonius kindly indeed by letter desires me not to make myself uneasy.⁵

¹ Upon the subject of Buthrotum, about which Atticus appears now to have had some satisfactory assurance, perhaps through the instrumentality of Dolabella. See Letter xiv.

² Brutus and Cassius.

³ Brutus.

⁴ To Cicero's House. See Letter iii. and Book xiv. Letter xix.

⁵ Under the apprehension of his Tusculan villa being seized. See Letter viii.

I acknowledge this as one favor received ; and may perhaps receive a second, unless he should come to Tusculanum. How intolerable are these negotiations !⁶ which however are tolerated.⁷ Which of Brutus's party⁸ is to blame for this ?⁹ There is, I am persuaded, no want of spirit in Octavianus ;¹⁰ and he seemed to be affected, as we could wish, towards our heroes. But it is matter of deep consideration what reliance can be placed on his age, his name,¹¹ his succession, his instructions. His step-father,¹² whom I saw at Astura, thought he was not to be trusted. But he must be cherished however, if for no other reason, that he may be disunited from Antonius. It is well done of Marcellus, if he directs our own's own :¹³ who seemed to me to be much attached

⁶ That we should be forced to negotiate for our security.

⁷ Antonius being suffered to proceed with impunity.

⁸ So the word *Bruti* was to be understood. See Book XIV. Letter XIV.

⁹ For suffering Antonius to live.

¹⁰ The same, who is before called Octavius ; but his adoption into Cæsar's family having been confirmed, he took the name of C. Julius Cæsar Octavianus, that of Augustus being added afterwards.

¹¹ The name and inheritance of Cæsar.

¹² Philippus. See Book XIV. Letter XII.

¹³ It is consonant with Atticus's manner to suppose that he may thus have designated the young Quintus, meaning Cicero's own brother's own son.

to him. He¹⁴ did not place much reliance on Pansa and Hirtius. They¹⁵ have a good natural disposition, if it is but firm.¹⁶

LETTER XIII.

ON the 24th I received two letters from you. I shall reply to the earliest first. I agree with you that I should neither take the lead, nor close the rear; but should nevertheless favor them.¹ I have sent you my speech, and leave the keeping, and the publication of it, to your discretion. But when shall we see the time that you will think it may be produced? I do not understand how the truce, you mention, can possibly take place. It is better to use no opposition; which is the policy I mean to adopt. When you say that two legions

¹⁴ Marcellus.

¹⁵ Pansa and Hirtius.

¹⁶ He intimates the same thing in the 1st and vith Letters of this Book, and again in the xxv. I know not if any apology might be expected for giving a new interpretation to the concluding sentences of this letter. Suffice it to say, that I was dissatisfied with the explanation of former commentators; and always incline to resist the itch of conjectural emendations, the offspring of idleness and vanity. At the same time I should add, that both Middleton, and Mongault, apply this to Octavianus.

¹ The Conspirators.

have arrived at Brundisium, you get all information first:² write me word therefore of every thing you hear. I am expecting Varro's Dialogue. I now approve of undertaking something in the manner of Heraclides,³ especially as you anticipate it with so much delight: but I wish to know of what kind you would have it. As I mentioned to you before, or formerly, (since you prefer this expression) you have, to tell you the truth,⁴ made me the more desirous of writing, by adding to your own opinion, which was well known to me, the authority of Peduceus, which is always great, and of the first weight with me. I will endeavour therefore to prevent your charging me either with idleness, or want of attention. Vectenus and Faberius I cherish, as you advise. I suspect Clælius of no evil design, although — But what has he done? On the subject of maintaining our freedom, than which nothing is sweeter, I agree with you. Behave so to Gallus Caninius? The wicked man!⁵ What else can

² Though Cicero was now in the neighbourhood of Puteoli, and consequently much nearer to Brundisium, yet news from thence had arrived at Rome before it reached him.

³ See Letter iv.

⁴ The text has been variously tortured. I would point it thus—*Ad scribendum, dicere tibi vere, fecisti me acriorem, &c. i. e. ut possim dicere tibi vere.*

⁵ This appears to me to relate to Marcellus; whatever

I call him? Should I call him the cautious Marcellus? Such would I call myself; yet not so very cautious. I have now replied to your longer and earlier letter; but what shall I reply to the shorter and more recent one, except that it was most delicious? The news from Spain is excellent. Might I but see my Balbilius⁶ safe, the support of my old age. I may say the same of Annianus, considering the attention I receive from Visellia.⁷ But these things are subject to the lot of human nature. You say that you know nothing of Brutus; but Selicia informs me that M. Scaptius⁸ is arrived, and that he is to come to her, not with any display, but privately; and that I should know every thing. In the mean time you mention, in the same letter, that a servant of Bassus is come, who brings intelligence of the Alexandrian legions being in arms; that Bassus is sent for,⁹ and Cassius is expected. What say you? The Republic seems to be recovering its rights. But we must not presume be-

he may have done; otherwise I see not how the following expression *cautum Marcellum* should come to be in the accusative case; unless indeed it be copied from Atticus.

⁶ I apprehend the word Balbilius, is but a diminutive from Balbus; and so afterwards Annianus for Annius.

⁷ This must be some relation of Annius.

⁸ See Book v. Letter XXI.

⁹ To put himself at the head of the Alexandrian legions.

fore hand. You know the unsteadiness of these troops,¹⁰ and their habits of plunder. Dolabella is the best of men. Though while I am writing, at my dessert, I hear that he is come himself to Baiaë, yet he wrote to me from Formianum a letter, which I received upon quitting the bath, saying that he had done every thing to the utmost about the payment. He accuses Vectenus of shuffling, as such people are accustomed to do; but adds that my friend Sestius has taken the whole business upon himself. He is an excellent man, and very much attached to me; yet I want to know, what Sestius should be able to do in this affair more than any one of us. If however there should be any thing beyond my expectation, you will take care to inform me. But if, as I imagine, it is a lost case, you will nevertheless write; for such a circumstance will not affect me. Here I amuse myself with philosophical speculations, (for what else can I do?) and copiously explain what relates to our duty, addressing myself to Cicero. For on what subject can a father more properly speak to his son? Afterwards I shall proceed to something else. In short, there shall remain some fruit of this

¹⁰ This seems the most natural interpretation, though not supported by commentators, who have followed each other in applying the words to Antonius and his party.

excursion. Varro was expected to day, or tomorrow. But I am hastening away to Pompeianum; not that any thing can be more beautiful than this place; but there I shall be less molested by visitors. Pray let me know what accusation is brought in the case of Myrtilus, who I hear has suffered punishment; and whether it is quite clear by whom he was corrupted. While I write this, I imagine the speech will just have been delivered to you. I am almost afraid to hear what you may think of it. Though how does it concern me, if it is not to come out till the Republic is restored? About which what are my hopes¹¹ I dare not write.

LETTER XIV.

ON the 26th I received a letter from Dolabella, of which I send you a copy. In this he says that he has done every thing that you could wish. I immediately wrote to him in return with the fullest expression of my thanks. But, that he might not be surprised at my writing twice on the same subject, I gave it as a reason, that I had not before been able to have

¹¹ Meaning that he had no hope at all.

any personal communication with you. Not to detain you; the following is a copy of my letter.

“ *Cicero to his Dolabella, Consul.*

“ HAVING before heard by letter from my
“ friend Atticus of your great liberality and
“ extreme kindness towards him; and having
“ it also under your own hand, that you had
“ done what we desired; I wrote to express
“ my thanks to you in such terms, that you
“ might understand you could not have con-
“ ferred upon me a greater favor. But Atticus
“ having since come himself to me at Tuscu-
“ lanum for this single purpose of returning
“ you his thanks, through me, for the extra-
“ ordinary attention and great kindness he
“ had experienced from you in the Buthrotian
“ affair; I could not refrain from repeating
“ the same to you more distinctly in this letter.
“ For of all the marks of your affection and
“ civility towards me, my Dolabella, which
“ are very great, let me assure you that I
“ esteem this the highest and most grateful,
“ by letting Atticus see my regard for you,
“ and yours for me. For the rest, though
“ the settlement of Buthrotum has been your
“ work, and we are naturally inclined to sup-
“ port the fruits of our own exertion; yet I

“ wish again and again to recommend both the
“ cause, and the city, to your patronage, that
“ you may be pleased to cover it with your
“ authority and assistance. You will confer
“ a lasting security on the Buthrotians; and
“ will save Atticus, and me, from much trouble
“ and anxiety, if for my honor’s sake, you will
“ let them always remain under your protec-
“ tion. Which again and again I earnestly en-
“ treat you to do.”

Having finished this letter, I devoted myself to my compositions; which I fear may in several places call for your little red marks;¹ so discomposed am I, and occupied with deep² thoughts.

LETTER XV.

CONFOUND L. Antonius! if he molests the Buthrotians. I have drawn up my attestation,¹ which you may countersign when you please. If L. Fadius the Ædile demands the money belonging to the people of Arpinum,

¹ Atticus appears to have been in the habit of marking with red wax such passages as he disapproved. See Book XVI. Letter XI.

² Respecting, no doubt, the state of public affairs.

¹ To Cæsar’s covenant respecting the Buthrotians. See Appendix. To L. Plancus.

deliver up even the whole of it. (I wrote to you in a former letter about the 110 Sestertia (£900.) which were to be provided for Statius.²) If therefore Fadius asks for it, I wish it to be given to him; but to nobody besides Fadius. I think there is some other deposit at my house; which I have written to Eros to give back.³ The Queen I⁴ hate. Ammonius, the voucher of her promises, knows that I am justified in what I do. They⁵ were all connected with learning, and becoming my character; so that I should not mind declaring them in the public assembly. Sara, independently of my knowing him to be a bad man, was besides insolent to me. For, once only I saw him in my house, when asking him civilly what he wanted, he said he came to look for Atticus. But of the haughtiness of the queen herself, when she was in the gardens on the other side of the Tiber, I cannot speak without great pain. Let me then have nothing to do with such people; who seem to think not so much that I have no spirit, as that I have

² Statius appears to have been a freedman of Q. Cicero. See Book v. Letter i. and Book xv. Letter xix.

³ This settlement of Cicero's accounts seems to have been made preparatory to his going into Greece. See Letter xvii.

⁴ Cleopatra.

⁵ The promises he had received from Cleopatra, it may be, of books, or statues.

scarcely common feeling. Eros's mismanagement, as I conceive, is an obstacle in the way of my going abroad. For while I ought to have abundance, from the balance which he drew the 5th of April, I am under the necessity of borrowing. And what was received from the produce of my estate, I supposed to have been laid by for that temple.⁶ But I have given instructions about these matters to Tiro, whom I have sent to Rome on that account. I did not care to trouble you, who had already trouble enough. The more modest my Cicero is, the more I feel for him. For upon this subject he mentioned nothing to me, to whom he ought particularly to have written; but he wrote to Tiro to say that since the first of April, when the year ends, he had received nothing. You were always of opinion, agreeably to your natural disposition; and thought also that it concerned my dignity; that he should have from me not only a liberal, but also a handsome and ample allowance. Therefore I wish you would manage, (what I can transact through nobody else, or I would not trouble you) that there may be paid by exchanges at Athens what is sufficient for his yearly expences. Eros will furnish the money for this purpose. I send up

⁶ In which he proposed to consecrate his daughter's memory. See Book XII. Letter XVIII. &c.

Tiro; therefore you will⁷ be so good, as to take care about it, and write me word if any thing occurs to you upon the subject.

LETTER XVI.

At length a messenger is arrived from Cicero with a letter written, in good truth, after the ancient manner;¹ which of itself shews some degree of proficiency. Other people likewise give me good accounts. Leonidas however still uses the same expression of "hitherto."² But Herodes gives him the highest commendations. What think you? Though these should prove mere words, I am gratified to receive them on this subject, and gladly become a credulous hearer. If you have heard any thing from Statius, that concerns me, I should be glad to be informed of it. I assure you this place³ is beautiful, and quite retired; and, if you wish to write any thing, free from interruption. But I know not how it is,

⁷ Cicero sent up his confidential freedman Tiro with directions to communicate with Atticus upon the allowance for his son at Athens.

¹ See Book XIV. Letter VII.

² This refers to Book XIV. Letter XVI.

³ Pompeianum.

“ Sweet home.”⁴ Accordingly my steps revert to Tusculanum.⁵ For, after all, this rude scene would soon grow tiresome. I am besides afraid of the rains, if my prognostics⁶ are true ; for the frogs are exercising their rhetoric. I beg you to let me know where, and on what day, I can see our friend Brutus.

LETTER XVII.

I RECEIVED two letters on the 14th, one dated that day, and one the day before. Therefore to the earliest first. You will inform me about Brutus, when you know yourself. I had heard of the pretended alarm of the Consuls ;¹ for Sica, very affectionately indeed, but with unnecessary agitation, brought me an account of that suspicion. But what is it you say, “ that we must be content with what is offered ? ”² For not a word has been mentioned by Sire-

⁴ The original is part of a Greek proverb.

⁵ Though Pompeianum belonged to Cicero, yet he was most at home in Tusculanum.

⁶ Cicero had translated the Prognostics of Aratus.

¹ Under pretence of personal danger the Consuls appear to have surrounded themselves with a guard, perhaps to excite hostile feelings towards the conspirators.

² The original is a Greek proverbial expression, quoted before, Book vi. Letter v. It probably alludes here, as in the former instance, to the partial payment of some debt.

gius.³ I am not pleased with this. I have been vexed about your neighbour Pletorius, that any body should have heard it before me. You have acted quite right in the case of Syrus. I imagine you will easily stop L. Antonius⁴ through his brother Marcus. I forbade the money to be given to Antro, or to any body, except⁵ L. Fadius the Ædile; but you had not then received the letter. It cannot either safely or properly be done otherwise. With regard to the deficiency of 100 sestertia (£ 800.) to be provided for Cicero; I should wish you to inquire of Eros what is become of the rent of the houses.⁶ I am not displeased with Arabio's conduct in the affair of Silius. About my journey I think nothing, till I have settled my accounts;⁷ in which I believe you agree with me. I have replied to your first letter: now hear

³ Nothing is known of Siregius, or several other names which occur in this letter; they may probably have been connected with Cicero only in his private and pecuniary transactions.

⁴ From giving trouble to the Buthrotians. See Letter xv.

⁵ See Letter xv.

⁶ This may possibly allude to the houses mentioned Book XII. Letter xxxii, from the rents of which he proposed to defray his son's expenses at Athens.

⁷ In the text is inserted a Greek letter, the meaning of which has been much disputed. It seems to me most probable that it is used for "accounts," being the first letter of the word λογος.

what I have to say to the other. You act as you always do, in assisting Servilia, that is Brutus.⁸ I am glad you do not trouble yourself about the queen, and especially that you approve of my conduct. I have been informed by Tiro of the state of Eros's accounts, and have sent for him. I am much obliged by your engaging that Cicero shall be in no want. I hear great things of him from Messalla, who called upon me on his return from them⁹ at Lanuvium. And indeed his own letter is so affectionately and classically written, that I might read it to a public audience, for which I think he deserves the more indulgence. Sestius, I imagine, is not sorry about Bucilianus.¹⁰ If Tiro comes to me, I think of going to Tusculanum. But I beg you to inform me without delay, whatever happens, which it may concern me to know.

⁸ Atticus had given to Servilia a sum of money for Brutus's use, probably the same which is mentioned in Corn. Nepos's life of Atticus, amounting to 100 sestertia, or £800. From the same author it appears that after Brutus was in Epirus, he sent him another present of 300 sestertia, or £2400.

⁹ The conspirators.

¹⁰ Sestius and Bucilianus were the names of two of the conspirators. What particular circumstance is here alluded to, is not known: perhaps the collecting vessels to transport himself and his adherents to Epirus. See Book xvi. Letter iv.

LETTER XVIII.

THOUGH I thought I had sufficiently explained to you on the 15th, what I wanted ; and what I wished you to do, if it was convenient to you ; yet after I had set out, and was passing over the lake,¹ I determined to send Tiro to you, that he might be present at the transactions² which were in agitation. And I have also written to Dolabella, to say, that, if he thought fit,³ I should be glad to set off ; and I have asked him about the mules of burden⁴ for the journey. Let me beg⁵ that in these matters (since I understand you are very much occupied, partly about the Buthrotians, partly about Brutus, the providing for whose games I suspect devolves wholly upon you, and in great measure also the conduct of them) that therefore in an affair⁶ of this kind you will give me a little of your assistance ; for much will not be requisite. Things appear to me to tend to

¹ The Lucrine lake, from his house at Cumæ. Book xiv. Letter xvi and xvii.

² Probably his money transactions. See Letter xv.

³ Cicero being appointed his lieutenant was obliged to wait for Dolabella's sanction.

⁴ Going in the capacity of lieutenant to the Consul, he was entitled to a supply of mules.

⁵ This must be understood, upon which the following sentence depends.

⁶ Relating to his quitting the country.

slaughter, and that at no great distance. You see the men; you see the arms that are collected. I do not think myself by any means safe. If you think otherwise, I wish you would write to me; for I would much rather remain at home, if I can do it with propriety.

LETTER XIX.

WHAT further attempt¹ is to be made in the case of the Buthrotians? For you mention that you have been waiting in vain. And what does Brutus say of himself? I am truly sorry you should be so detained; for which we may thank the ten² men. It is a troublesome business, but must be born, and is most acceptable to me. Respecting the employment of arms,

¹ This may either mean an attempt on the part of L. Antonius and others to molest the Buthrotians. See Letter xv. or an attempt on the part of Atticus to secure them. I incline to the former explanation. The letter being in answer to one from Atticus, several particulars in it are rendered obscure from our ignorance of the circumstances to which they allude.

² This expression is probably a humorous one, taken from the Decemviri, or ten persons, by whom the laws of Rome were framed; and applied, perhaps by Atticus in the first instance, to some ten people distinguished by their disregard for the Republic, who at this time, it may be, threatened to divide and appropriate Cicero's property. See Letter viii.

I never saw any thing more open. Let me be off then ; but, as you say, we will talk of it together. What Theophanes wants, I cannot tell ; for having written to me, I answered him as I could : but he says he wishes to come to me, partly about his own affairs, and partly about something that concerns me. I am impatient to hear from you. Pray see that nothing is done³ rashly. Statius has written to me to say that Q. Cicero had strongly affirmed to him in conversation that he could not bear these proceedings, and that he was resolved to go over to Brutus and Cassius. I want now to understand this ; for what it means I am unable to explain. He may design something in a fit of passion against Antonius ; he may aim at some new glory ; it may be all a sudden impulse ; and assuredly so it is. But yet I have my fears, and his father is much disturb'd ; for he knows what that person⁴ formerly said of him to me ; things not to be revealed. In short, I do not know what he is at. I am to receive from Dolabella such dispatches⁵ as I please ; that is, none at all. Tell me ; did C. Antonius wish

³ Probably said in relation to the designs of evil minded persons on Cicero's property.

⁴ Perhaps Dolabella. See Book XIII. Letter IX ; where the very same Greek expressions are applied to young Quintus's conduct.

⁵ Going in the capacity of Dolabella's lieutenant, he might be supposed to bear dispatches.

to be made a Septemvir?⁶ He was undoubtedly worthy⁷ of it. It is, as you mention, with regard to Menedemus. You will let me know every thing.

LETTER XX.

I HAVE returned my thanks to Vectenus; for nothing could be more kind. Let Dolabella's despatches be what you please; only let me have something, or at least a message to Nicias:¹ for who, as you say, did not before understand this arrangement?² Do you suppose that any sensible man now entertains a doubt but that it is a journey of despair, not of business? You say that men, and good ones too, already speak of the Republic being in extremity. For my part, the very day on which I heard that tyrant³ called in the assembly "a most eminent man," I began to distrust. But when I was

⁶ One of the seven commissioners appointed for the distribution of forfeited, or waste lands, to the soldiers.

⁷ This is to be understood as said in derision, the commissioners being persons of no reputation.

¹ Nicias was the intimate friend of Dolabella, and being to accompany him in his province of Syria, (see Book xiv. Letter ix,) he had probably already set out before him on that expedition.

² The text appears to be faulty in this place. I have given what I conceive to be the meaning.

³ Cæsar. See Book xiv. Letter xi.

with you at Lanuvium, and saw that our friends had only so much hope of Life, as Antonius had been pleased to afford them ; I quite despaired. Therefore, my Atticus, I would have you receive this ⁴ with the same firmness, with which I write it : that species of destruction, by which you are likely to fall, ⁵ you will esteem disgraceful, and almost denounced against us by Antonius. From this snare I have determined to withdraw, not for the purpose of flight, but in the hope of a better death. The fault rests wholly with Brutus. You say that Pompeius ⁶ has been received at Cartheia. Now therefore they must send an army against him. To which camp then I should betake myself ? For Antonius cuts off any middle course. That camp is weak ; this is wicked. It is time therefore to hasten away. But help me with your advice, whether I should go from Brundisium, or from Puteoli. Brutus adopts an hasty, but prudent counsel. ⁷ I am much concerned : for when shall I see him again ? But we must bear the afflictions incident to humanity. You are

⁴ What follows.

⁵ The text has been supposed to be corrupt. It may perhaps relate to Cicero's apprehension of Antonius's power and cruelty, which Atticus may have declared his determination to abide. Had we Atticus's letters, the sense would probably be clear.

⁶ Sextus Pompeius, who still retained a powerful army in Spain.

⁷ In retiring from Italy.

yourself unable to see him. The Gods confound this man who is dead,⁸ for having ever molested Buthrotum ! But leaving what is past, let us consider what is yet to be done. Though I have not yet seen Eros, yet from his letter, and from what Tiro has ascertained, I am pretty well master of his accounts. You say that I ought to borrow 200 sestertia (£1600.) for five months, that is, to the first of November. The payment of the money due from Quintus will fall upon that day. I should be glad therefore (as Tiro assures me you would not wish me to go up to Rome expressly for this purpose) that if you do not object to such a business, you would find out from whence the money can be procured, and contract for it on my behalf. This is what is wanting for the present. I must inquire more particularly about the remaining articles from himself;⁹ and among these, about the rents of the dowry¹⁰ estate ; which, if they are regularly paid to Cicero, though I wish him to have a liberal allowance, yet will be nearly sufficient for him. I am aware that I must also have money for my journey ; but the former may be paid out of the estates, as it becomes due ; what I want for

⁸ Cæsar. So before, Letter iv. ⁹ Eros.

¹⁰ This appears to be the same estate mentioned in Letter xvii, and may have been part of Terentia's dower, settled perhaps upon her son.

myself must be had at once. And though I apprehend that he, who is afraid of mere shadows,¹¹ is driving on to slaughter; yet I shall not set off till my accounts are cleared. But whether they are unravelled, or not, I will examine into the state of affairs with you. I have thought it proper to write this with my own hand; and have accordingly done so. About Fadius, as you mention: but to nobody else.¹² I shall hope to have an answer from you to-day.

LETTER XXI.

I HAVE to acquaint you that Quintus the father is exulting with delight; for his son has written to say that he had wished to go over to Brutus for this reason; that Antonius having pressed him to get him made Dictator, and to occupy some fortress, he had refused to do it; and he refused from fear of vexing his father; from which time Antonius had been his enemy.

“ But afterwards, says he, I recollected myself,¹

“ being apprehensive, that in his anger towards

“ me, he might do you² some injury; therefore

“ I have pacified him; and indeed have re-

¹¹ Antonius. See Letter xvii.

¹² See Letter xv.

¹ From fear of irritating Antonius he checked his desire of joining Brutus.

² His father.

“ceived from him a promise of 400 sester tia
“ (£3000.) certain, with the hope of the rest.”³
Staius writes word that he is desirous of living
with his father; and, what is surprising, he⁴
is also glad of it. Did you ever know a more
confirmed profligate than he is?⁵ I quite ap-
prove of your hesitation in the affair of Canus.⁶
I had suspected nothing about the debts; but
supposed the dower⁷ to have been entirely re-
paid. What you defer, that you may speak
with me personally, I shall be anxious to hear.
You may keep the messenger as long as you
please; for I know you are busy. About Xeno
you have managed admirably. I will send you
what I am writing, as soon as it is finished.
You mentioned to Quintus that you had written
to him; but nobody brought the letter. Tiro
says that you do not now approve of Brundi-

³ What was further necessary to discharge his debts.

⁴ Staius, himself, who was freedman and steward to Quintus, and had, by his influence with the father, excited the jealousy and hatred of the son.

⁵ This appears to be said of young Quintus, whose story Cicero distrusted, thinking that it was a trick to get money from his father.

⁶ See Book XIII. Letter xli. and xlii, where Cana may probably be the daughter of Canus here mentioned. It will be recollected that she was proposed as a wife for young Quintus.

⁷ She may probably have been divorced from some former husband, but with some charge upon her dower.

sium,⁸ and that you talked something about soldiers. But I had already fixed upon Hydruntum.⁹ I was influenced by your five hours' passage. But what a long voyage is this?¹⁰ However we will see about it. I received no letter from you on the 21st; and no wonder; for now what news is there? You will come then as soon as you are able. I hasten my departure, that Sextus¹¹ may not first arrive, whom they report to be on his way.

LETTER XXII.

I REJOICE with you upon the departure¹ of young Quintus. He will give us no further trouble.² I am ready to believe that Pansa talks favourably; for I know that he has always united himself with Hirtius. I suppose he may be very friendly towards Brutus and Cassius, if he can find his advantage in it; but when will he go near them? Likewise an enemy to Antonius; but when? or why? How long are we to be trifled with?³ I mentioned that

¹ See Letter xx.

² The extremity of Italy nearest to Greece.

¹⁰ From Puteoli.

¹¹ Sextus Pompeius.

¹ From Rome.

² By his intrigues with Antonius.

³ By these ineffectual professions of Pansa.

Sextus was on his way, not as if he were just at hand ; but because he certainly acts with that view, and will on no account lay down his arms. If he persists, war must be the consequence. But here our Cytherius⁴ declares that nobody but the conqueror shall live. What will Pansa say to this? And if war takes place, as it seems probable, which will he join? But of these and other matters when we meet ; to-day, as you intimate, or to-morrow.

LETTER XXIII.

I AM wonderfully distracted, yet without any particular uneasiness ; but a great number of things occur to me both ways on the subject of my journey. “ How long is this to last ? ” you will say. As long as there is room for hesitation : which will be till I am fairly embarked. If I hear from Pansa, I will send you both my letter, and his. I am expecting Silius, to whom I will give¹ the memoir I have drawn up.² If there is any news, you will acquaint me with it. I have sent a letter to Brutus. If you know any

⁴ Meaning Antonius, who was under the control of his mistress Cytheris. Book x. Letter x.

¹ To be transmitted to Atticus.

² A short account of the state of public affairs. The same Greek word is employed in the same sense, Book II. Letter I.

thing about his progress, I shall be obliged to you to inform me.

LETTER XXIV.

THE messenger, which I sent to Brutus, returned from his journey the 26th. Servilia informed him that Brutus had set out that day at ten o'clock. I was sorry my letter had not been delivered. Silius did not come to me. I drew up that statement, and have sent the pamphlet to you. I want to know on what day I may expect you.

LETTER XXV.

THERE is great variety of opinions about my going abroad; for I have many visitors. But let me beg you to take this matter into consideration. It is a thing of some importance. Do you approve it, if I think of returning by the first of January? My mind is quite calm upon the subject; yet on the supposition that my conduct gives no offence. And you have also ably pointed out the day, that was formerly held sacred; that is, the mysteries.¹

¹ See the conclusion of Book v; also the last sentences of Book vi. Letter i. It was perhaps deemed a profanation to travel, or to transact any unnecessary business at the

But however this may be, accident must regulate my determination about the journey. Let me therefore continue to doubt. For a winter voyage is an odious thing; which was the reason of my asking you about the day of the mysteries. I think, as you say, that I shall see Brutus. I mean to go from hence the last day of the month.

LETTER XXVI.

I SEE that you have done every thing about Quintus's business; yet he is uneasy and doubtful whether he should humour Lepta, or shake Silius's credit. I have heard say that L. Piso wishes to get away on some appointment under a forged decree of the Senate. I should like to know if there is any truth in it. The messenger, whom I told you I had sent to Brutus at Anagninum, returned on the night previous to the first of the month, bringing me a letter, in which there was one thing inconsistent with his consummate good sense; that is, that he wanted me to attend his games.¹ I replied, that in the first place I was already set out, so that it was no longer in my power; in the next place, that

time of this solemn festival, which I conceive must be the same that in the passage referred to in the sixth book is called "the Roman Mysteries."

¹ See Letter x. and xii.

it would be very strange for me, who have never gone to Rome at all since this assumption of arms;² and that, not so much in consideration of my danger, as of my dignity; suddenly to come up to the games. For at such a time to exhibit the games is quite right for him; it is part of his duty; but as it is no part of my duty to see them, so neither is it becoming. I am indeed exceedingly desirous that they should be exhibited, and should be well received; which I trust will be the case; and I entreat you to let me know from the very beginning how they go off, and afterwards to pursue the detail through each succeeding day. But enough about the games. The rest of his letter sometimes inclines one way, sometimes another; yet emits occasional sparks of vigour. That you may judge for yourself what to think of it, I send you a copy of the letter; though my messenger informed me that he had also brought a letter from Brutus for you, which had been forwarded to you from Tusculanum. I have so arranged my journey as to be at Puteoli the 7th of July; for I wish to embark as soon as I can; yet so as to use all human precaution in my voyage. You may relieve M. Ælius from all further care. He wants permission to make some excavations at the extremity of his property, which are to pass under ground, and to

² See Letter xviii. and xix.

be subject to certain service.³ Let him know that I have long since objected to it, and that nothing would be an equivalent to me. But, as you say to me, let it be expressed with all gentleness; and so as rather to relieve him from all further care, than to let him suppose that I am at all offended. I beg you likewise to speak freely with Cascelius upon that subject of Tullius.⁴ It is a small concern;⁵ but you have very properly adverted to it. It was conducted with too much craftiness. If he had any way imposed upon me; which he was near doing, unless you had illnaturally⁶ stepped in; I should have been very angry. However it may be therefore, I wish the business to be stopped. Remember * * *⁷ You will take

³ I have given what appeared to me the most natural interpretation of this passage, which is very obscure and probably much corrupted.

⁴ By comparison with Letter xxix, there is reason to suppose that this relates to some interest of money due to Cicero.

⁵ After the sentence relating to Tullius; which seems to be inserted without any other connexion with the preceding, than what may have arisen from its place in Atticus's letter; he seems here to revert to the subject of M. Ælius's request, which Atticus may have been the first to mention.

⁶ This I understand to be said in jest; the notice which Atticus had taken of the business, having thwarted Ælius's designs.

⁷ The text is too much corrupted to be intelligible.

care to give possession to the person, for whom Cærellia applies, at the highest price which was offered at the sale. I think this was 370 sestertia (£2960). If there is any news, or if you foresee any thing that is likely to happen, I should wish you to write to me as often as possible. Remember to make my excuse to Varro, as I desired you, for my backwardness in writing. I hope Mundus will trim his opponent.⁸ Let me know (for you are curious about such things,) what M. Ennius has done respecting the will. From Arpinas July 2d.

LETTER XXVII.

I AM pleased that you should persuade me to do, what I had already done of my own accord the day before. For by the same messenger, who took my letter to you on the 2nd, I wrote also to Sestius in terms of great regard. He does kindly to follow me to Puteoli; but his complaint is unreasonable. For it was not so much my business to wait for him on his return from Cosanum; as his, either not to go till he had seen me, or to come back sooner. For he knew I was anxious to set off, and had written to say

⁸ The text is here likewise either deficient, or too concise to admit of any certain interpretation in our ignorance of the circumstances. The name occurs again Letter XXIX.

that he would come to me at Tusculanum. I am troubled at the tears you shed upon leaving me.¹ If you had done so in my presence, I might possibly have changed altogether my resolution of going. But I like the hope, with which you consoled yourself, of our soon meeting again; which expectation is indeed my greatest support. You shall have no want of letters. I will inform you of every thing relating to Brutus. I shall very soon send you my Treatise upon Glory; and I will make out something in the manner of Heraclides, which may lie by in your closet. I remember about Plancus. Attica has reason to complain.² Your information about Bacchis, and about the chaplets on the statues, was highly acceptable; and I trust you will hereafter omit nothing, not only of such, but of ever so little interest. I shall not forget Herodes, and Mettius, and every thing, which I can but suspect will be agreeable to you. O disgraceful son of your sister! He arrived as I was writing this, about sun set, while we were at dinner.

¹ Uncertain if they should ever meet again in such distracted times.

² He might perhaps have sent her no message by Atticus.

LETTER XXVIII.

As I wrote you word yesterday, I have settled to get to Puteolanum¹ on the 7th. There I shall hope to hear daily from you, especially upon the subject of the games;² of which you must also send an account to Brutus. I sent you yesterday a copy of a letter I had from him, which I was hardly able to understand.³ Make my excuses to my Attica, so that all the blame may rest upon you; and assure her that I have by no means "brought away with me "all my affection."⁴

¹ I have taken the liberty of inserting this word in the place of "Tusculanum," which is found in all the editions. The alteration is very slight, and amply warranted by tracing Cicero's progress from the evidence of his other letters. For he appears to have gone from Puteoli on the 30th of June (Letter xxv.) to Arpinas July 2 (Letter xxvi.), and thence to Tusculanum July 3 (Letter xxviii.), where he took leave of Atticus (Letter xxvii.), and from whence we find him at Formiæ July 6 (Letter xxix.) on his way back to Puteoli July 7 (Book xvi. Letter i.) where he was to embark. ² See Letter xxvi.

³ It is said (Letter xxvi.) that Brutus's sentiments incline "sometimes one way, sometimes another;" so that here we are to understand Cicero as hardly knowing what conclusion to draw respecting the measures he would pursue. The same meaning is attached to the word *interpretari* in Letter xix.

⁴ The concluding expression may probably be copied from some letter of Attica's.

LETTER XXIX.

I SEND you Brutus's letter.¹ Good Gods! What an unsettled state of mind! You will see, when you read it. Respecting the celebration of Brutus's games, I agree with you. You need not go to M. Ælius's house; but speak to him² when you meet him. About the six per cent. from Tullius, you may employ M. Axianus, as you mention. Your transaction with Cosianus is well managed; and it gives me pleasure to find that you attend to your own concerns, as well as mine. I am glad my lieutenancy³ is approved. May the Gods accomplish what you promise!⁴ For what is there that I prefer to my friends? Though I have my fears about her,⁵ whom you except. When I have seen Brutus, I will write you a full account. I wish it may be true about Plancus and Decimus.⁶ I should be sorry to

¹ Probably another letter subsequent to that mentioned Letter xxvi.

² See Letter xxvi. ³ See Letter xi.

⁴ Probably that he would see him in Greece.

⁵ This may mean Pilia, or Attica, whose health might prevent them from travelling.

⁶ Plancus and Decimus Brutus had been nominated by Cæsar Consuls elect for the year after Hirtius and Pansa. They now commanded one the further, the other the nearer Gaul. It is probable that at this time Plancus had declared his determination to join Decimus Brutus against Antonius.

have Sextus throw away his shield.⁷ Tell me if you know any thing about Mundus. I have replied to all your observations; now hear mine. Quintus the son is come to conduct me quite to Puteoli. A famous citizen! you might call him Favonius, or Asinius. He did it for two reasons; to attend me; and to make his peace with Brutus and Cassius. But what say you? For I know you are well acquainted with the Othos. He says that Julia⁸ offers to marry him; for a divorce is settled. His father asked me what was said of her. I replied, that I had heard nothing (for I did not know why he asked), excepting what related to her features, and to her parentage. But why, said I? Upon which he told me that his son wished to marry her. Then I, notwithstanding my abhorrence, yet said that I did not suppose the reports of her were true. It is his intention (for this is it) to give our nephew nothing. She will have him without regarding his father. I suspect however that the young man dreams, as usual. But I should be glad if you would make inquiry, which you can easily do, and let me know.

⁷ It was proverbially disgraceful for one "to throw away his shield;" which means here "giving up the cause." See Book XVI. Letter I. It is not unlikely that the expression may have been borrowed from Atticus.

⁸ It is to be supposed that she was married to one of the Othos.

I beseech you, what is this? After I had sealed my letter, some persons from Formiæ, who were dining with me, told me they had seen Plancus, him who is engaged about Buthrotum,⁹ the day previous to my writing this, that is, on the 5th, dejected and without his trappings; and that the servants said, that he and his colonists¹⁰ had been turned out by the Buthrotians. Well done! But I beg you to write me an account of the whole business.

⁹ To make a distribution of lands in Epirus. See Appendix. He is so distinguished, as being a different person from that Plancus, who was before mentioned in this letter.

¹⁰ Those who came to take possession of the lands.

BOOK XVI.

LETTER I.

I ARRIVED at Puteolanum the 7th of July, and write this the following day on my way to Brutus at Nesis.¹ But while I was at dinner the day I got here, Eros delivered to me your letter. Is it so? In the edict for proclaiming the games, is the month, instead of Quintilis, called July, according to the new name given to it in honor of Cæsar?² May the Gods con-

¹ A small island not far from Puteoli, where the younger Lucullus, a relation of Brutus, had a villa.

² In order to make this intelligible to the English reader, I have thought it necessary thus to paraphrase what in the original is contained in two words. I have throughout adopted the English dates; and in general the months have the same denominations in both languages; excepting that July and August used to be called Quintilis and Sextilis; till the first was altered in honor of Julius Cæsar a little before his death, the other afterwards in honor of Augustus.

found those³ people! But we may storm the whole day. Can any thing be more disgraceful than the adoption of the term "July" in the person of Brutus? I turn therefore to my own duty, and "let us leave this," as it is said,⁴ for I see no help. But, pray, what is it I hear about the settlers of Buthrotum being driven out?⁵ And what is the meaning of Plancus's going in such haste (for so I heard) day and night? I want much to know the truth. I am very glad that my going is approved. It is no wonder if the Dymeans,⁶ after being driven from their possessions, should infest the sea; but it does not follow that my staying here would be thought proper.⁷ There may be some security in sailing in company with Brutus; but I apprehend his vessels are very

³ The Cæsarian faction, by whom this date is supposed to have been inserted in the proclamation.

⁴ This text has been variously tortured. Without altering the reading of the manuscripts, I understand *εωμεν* to be taken from Homer Il. ii, 236, where Thersites says—"let us leave this man." Nothing is more common in these letters, than such partial quotations. The *et* preceding the Greek word, I take to be part of the Latin text.

⁵ See Book xv. Letter xxix.

⁶ These were pirates subdued by Pompeius, and planted at Dyme in Greece; from whence they had subsequently been expelled by Cæsar.

⁷ This seems to be the meaning; which a literal translation would hardly have conveyed.

small.⁸ However I shall presently know, and will write to you to-morrow. I imagine it was a false alarm about Ventidius.⁹ With regard to Sextus,¹⁰ it is held for certain that he does not take up arms. If this is true, I see that without a civil war we are to be made slaves. How then? The first of January affords us hope in Pansa. Mere illusion! In the wine and indolence of these people?¹¹ From the 210 Sestertia¹² (£1680.) Cicero's accounts may very well be liquidated. For Ovius is recently come from thence, and details many circumstances which give me pleasure. Among the rest this is not amiss, that he was authorised to assure me his allowance was amply sufficient; that 72 Sestertia (£580.) were sufficient, fully and entirely; but that Xeno doled it out sparingly, and reluctantly, that is, by little at a time. What you have transmitted beyond the rents of the houses,¹³ may be placed to that year, upon which fell the additional

⁸ Therefore less capable of affording protection against pirates.

⁹ That he was advancing with troops to support Antonius.

¹⁰ Sextus Pompeius. See Book xvi. Letter xxix.

¹¹ Hirtius and Pansa.

¹² This may perhaps be the sum borrowed, which, Book xv. Letter xx. was in round numbers called 200 Sestertia.

¹³ See Book xii. Letter xxxii.

expense of his journey; and in future, dating from the first of April,¹⁴ let his allowance be raised to 80 Sestertia (£640.); for the houses now produce so much. But it must be considered what should be done when he returns to Rome; for I do not think that mother-in-law¹⁵ can be tolerated. I rejected the proposal through the tall Pindarus.¹⁶ Now hear for what purpose I have sent the messenger. Quintus the son promises me that he will be a very Cato; and both the father and the son have been urgent with me to commend him to you; yet so, that you might only give credit to him, when you should be satisfied from your own knowledge. I shall give him a letter agreeable to his own wishes; but, that you may not be moved by it, I write this for the purpose of assuring you that I am not moved myself. The Gods grant that he may fulfil what he promises! It would be a general joy. But I say no more. He sets out from hence the 9th. For he says there is an assignment for the 15th, and that he is severely pressed. You will regulate by my letter the manner in which you

¹⁴ See Book xv. Letter xv.

¹⁵ The mother of some lady proposed as a match for the young Cicero.

¹⁶ Probably some freedman of large stature belonging to this lady.

are to answer him. I will write more when I have seen Brutus, and send back Eros. I admit the excuse of my Attica, and love her dearly. My compliments to her, and to Pilia.

LETTER II.¹

(GRÆV. V.)

BRUTUS is already expecting to hear from you. What I told him of Attius's Tereus,² was not new; but he supposed it to have been the Brutus.³ However some rumour had reached him that the exhibition of the Grecian games⁴ had not been well attended; which did not surprise me; for you know my opinion of them.⁵ Now hear what is better than all.

¹ This is probably the letter which was taken by young Quintus, and which I have thought fit to place the second in this book, having apparently been written on the evening of July 8, after his visit to Brutus in company with young Quintus. The behaviour of both parties at that visit, may have given Cicero additional confidence in his nephew's professions; which afterwards proved to be sincere.

² See the next Letter.

³ Another play by the same author.

⁴ The people were entertained for several days together, during which time there were a variety of exhibitions, and, among the rest, what are here denominated Grecian games, which were probably the contests of the *Athletæ* borrowed from the Greeks.

⁵ That they are undeserving of attention. This appears from the Familiar Epistles, Book VII. Letter I.

Quintus has passed several days with me ; and if I wished it, would even have staid longer : but, while he was here, you cannot believe how much he delighted me in every respect ; particularly in that,⁶ wherein I was least satisfied. For he is so entirely changed by means of some writings which I had in hand, and by repeated conversation, and instruction, that he will in future be disposed towards the Republic as we could wish. Having not only assured me, but persuaded me of his sincerity, he has been very earnest with me to vouch to you for his conducting himself in a manner honorable both to you, and to me. And he does not ask you immediately to trust him ; but when you are thoroughly satisfied, then to give him your affection. Unless he had convinced me, and I had believed what I tell you to be certain, I should not have done what I am going to mention. For I took the young man with me to Brutus, who was so well satisfied with what I relate, that he gave full credit to it himself, and refused to accept me as a voucher ; but commending him, spake most kindly of you ; and upon taking leave of him, embraced and kissed him. Therefore, though I have more reason to congratulate you, than to ask you, yet I do ask that if heretofore he appears to have been guilty of some indiscre-

⁶ His attachment to Antonius.

tions owing to the infirmity of youth, you will believe that he has renounced them ; and trust me when I add that your authority will have great, or rather the greatest effect in confirming his resolution. Having several times thrown out to Brutus my design of sailing in his company, he did not seem to catch at it, as I had expected. I thought him absorbed ; which indeed is the case, particularly on the subject of the games. But on my return home, Cn. Lucceius, who sees a great deal of Brutus, informed me that he delayed his voyage, not from irresolution, but waiting if any chance should arise. I therefore doubt whether I should go to Venusia, and there wait to hear about the troops. If they are not in the neighbourhood, as some suppose, I may go to Hydruntum. If neither⁷ is safe, I shall return to this place. Do you think I am jesting ?⁸ May I die if any body keeps me besides you. For only look round—But I blush to say it before your face. How charmingly are the days pointed out in Lepidus's⁹ auspices ; and how conveniently for the

⁷ Neither Brundisium, nor Hydruntum.

⁸ This may perhaps allude to some letter from Atticus adverting to Book xv. Letter xxvii., in which Cicero had expressed his concern at parting from him.

⁹ Lepidus was chief Pontifex at this time ; in which capacity he appointed the days for the Augurs to take the auspices, and Cicero, it will be recollected, belonged to the College of Augurs.

purpose of my return. I derive from your letter a great encouragement to set out. And I wish I may see you there.¹⁰ But as you shall think most advantageous.¹¹ I am expecting Nepos's¹² letter. Is he desirous to possess my writings, who considers as unfit to be read, those subjects¹³ of which I am most proud? And you say, "after him, who is "super-excellent;"¹⁴ but it is you who are "super-excellent;" while he is "divine." There is no collection of my letters; but my Tiro has about seventy, and some may be got from you. These I must look over and correct, and then they shall be published.¹⁵

LETTER III.

(GRÆV. II.)

ON the 10th I received two letters, one by my own messenger, the other by Brutus's. We

¹⁰ In Greece.

¹¹ Meaning that he would not have Atticus go to his own inconvenience.

¹² Cornelius Nepos, who had a great friendship with Atticus.

¹³ Philosophical enquiries.

¹⁴ This, which is no doubt copied from Atticus's letter, and there applied to Cicero, as likewise the subsequent expressions, are taken from Homer.

¹⁵ It is to be supposed that Atticus had solicited him to publish a collection of his letters.

had here a very different report respecting the Buthrotians. But to this among many other things we must submit. I send back Eros sooner than I had intended, that there may be somebody to attend to Hortensius; and also because he says he has made an appointment with the knights.¹ Hortensius however is very unreasonable; for there is nothing owing to him excepting from the third instalment,² which becomes due the 1st of August; and of this very instalment the greater part has been paid him some time before the day. But Eros will see about this on the 15th. In the case of Publilius,³ I think there ought to be no delay in making the proper assignment. Yet when you consider how far I have receded from my right, by paying at once 200 out of the 400 Sestertia (£3200.) and giving a bill for the remainder, you may mention to him, if you please, that he ought to wait my convenience after the loss I have sustained in my just claims. But I entreat you, my dear Atticus, (do you observe

¹ It is uncertain who are meant.

² Should not this be written Hordeonius, who was before stated to have succeeded to part of Cluvius's estate? See Book XIII. Letter XLVI. Whoever he was, Cicero appears to have purchased his interest on condition of paying for it by three instalments.

³ Brother to Cicero's second wife, to whom, upon his divorce, he was to repay her fortune. See Book XIII. Letter XXXIV.

how I coax ?) as long as you remain in Rome, manage, regulate, govern all my concerns, without waiting to hear from me. For though the balance is quite sufficient to discharge all demands ; yet it frequently happens that our own debtors are not punctual to their time. If any thing of this sort should occur, let my credit be of the first consideration with you ; so as to support it by borrowing, or even by selling, if circumstances render it necessary. Brutus was much pleased with your letter. For I was with him several hours in Nesis soon after I had received it. He seemed to be delighted with Tereus,⁴ and to feel himself under greater obligation to Accius, than to Antonius. For myself, the more I am pleased with the account, the more it excites my indignation, and vexation, that the Roman people should employ their hands, not in defending the Republic, but in applauding it. The minds of these men⁵ appear to be inflamed to such a pitch, as to unmask their wickedness. But however, if they do but smart, let them smart for what they may. I am glad of what you say, that my determination⁶ is every day more approved ; and was anxiously expecting what

⁴ The title of one of Accius's or Attius's plays, in which the expressions in favor of liberty called forth the plaudits of the populace.

⁵ Antonius's party.

⁶ Of going abroad.

you might write to me about it; for I meet with a variety of opinions. Indeed it was on that account I protracted my stay, in order to leave it open as long as possible. But now that I am driven out as it were by force, I think of proceeding to Brundisium; for it will be easier and more practicable to avoid the troops,⁷ than the pirates, who are reported to be seen abroad. Sestius was expected on the tenth,⁸ but he is not come, so far as I know. Cassius has arrived with his little fleet. As soon as I have seen him, I mean to go on the 11th⁹ to Pompeianum, thence to Acculanum, and so on. It is as I supposed about Tutia.¹⁰ The report of Æbutius¹¹ I do not believe; I do not however care about it, any more than you. I have written to Plancus and Oppius¹² because you desired me; but do not think it necessary to deliver the letters, unless you choose it. For after having done for you every thing in their power, I am afraid they will think my recommendation superfluous; especially Oppius, whom I know to be entirely in your interests.

⁷ Which were expected from Macedonia to strengthen Antonius's army.

⁸ The day on which Cicero writes.

⁹ There seems to be no doubt that what is in the manuscripts v. Kal., should be v. Id.

¹⁰ What this alludes to, is not known.

¹¹ This is unknown.

¹² On the subject of Buthrotum.

But, as you like. Since you write word that you shall winter in Epirus, it will be a great kindness to me, if you go thither before the time that I must by your advice return into Italy. Let me hear from you as often as possible; if about things of little moment, by any messenger you may find; but if there is any thing of more importance, send somebody from your house. If I get safe to Brundisium, I shall set about my Heraclidean work;¹³ I have sent you the treatise upon Glory. You will keep it locked up, as usual; but let select passages be marked, which Salvius,¹⁴ may read to your guests, when he has a good audience. These books please me much; I would rather hear that they pleased you. Again and again farewell.

¹³ After the manner of Heraclides. See Book xv. Letter iv.

¹⁴ A freed man of Atticus employed in his library, (see Book xiii. Letter xlv.) and in reading to him during some part of his dinner; which Corn. Nepos informs us was his constant practice. It seems to have been a frequent practice not only among the ancient Greeks and Romans, but also in more recent times; and was probably only discontinued upon the easy acquirement of books consequent on the invention of printing.

LETTER IV.

(GRÆV. III.)

You have done wisely, (for I am now writing in answer to the letter which you sent me after meeting Antonius at Tibur). Wisely I say, in giving way to him, and even being forward to thank him.¹ For as you rightly observe, we can more easily bear the loss of our public rights, than of our private ones. When you say that you are more and more pleased with "O Titus," &c.² you give me fresh spirits to write. In your expectation of seeing Eros, and not empty handed,³ I am glad that you have not been disappointed. But what I have sent you is the same treatise retouched; and indeed it is the original itself in many places interpolated and amended. When it has been transcribed on

¹ Antonius may have agreed to acknowledge Atticus's payment in exemption, or partly in exemption, of further demands upon Buthrotum. With this the following sentence very well agrees; meaning, that he did right to thank Antonius for his private services, notwithstanding the public wrongs entailed upon the state. *Res publica & res familiaris*, are here opposed to each other.

² These words are the beginning of Cicero's treatise upon Old Age.

³ That is, with some composition of Cicero's. The words are probably Atticus's.

large paper you may read it in private to your guests. But, as you love me, shew yourself cheerful and entertain them well, lest they vent upon me the displeasure they may feel towards you.⁴ I wish that what I hear of Cicero may be true. I shall know about Xeno, when I am there;⁵ though I cannot suppose that he would do any thing either inattentively, or illiberally. Respecting Herodes, I will do as you desire; and what you mention, I will learn from Sausaeus and Xeno. On the subject of Quintus the son, I am glad the letter,⁶ which I sent by my messenger, was delivered to you previously to that which he took himself; though you would not have been deceived. Nevertheless—But I am anxious to know what he said to you, and you to him; yet I have no doubt that each behaved in his own manner. I hope to receive the account by Curius; who, amiable as he is himself, and beloved by me, yet derives a great additional regard from your recommendation. I have replied to your letter. Now hear what I am persuaded is unnecessary to be written, but yet I write. Many considerations affect me on my departure, and most of all, that I am separated from you. Besides, I dislike the trouble of a voyage, unsuitable not only to my

⁴ Lest they be out of humour, and not disposed to like my work.

⁵ At Athens.

⁶ See Letter 1.

age, but also to my character. And the time of my departure has something absurd in it; for I leave a state of peace, to come back to war; and the interval, that might be spent among my small estates, in convenient and sufficiently pleasant houses, I am going to waste in travelling. My consolation is, that I shall either be of service to Cicero, or shall be able to judge what advantage is to be expected. Then you, as I hope, and as you promise, will presently be there. If this happens, every thing goes better with me. But I am much concerned about the balance of my accounts. For, though it is all clear; yet Dolabella's debt being entered among them, and his assignees total strangers to me, I feel anxious about it; so that among all my troubles nothing vexes me more. Therefore I do not think I have done wrong in having written to Balbus more openly, that if any thing of the kind should happen, and the payments should not correspond, he might assist me; likewise in having desired you, in the event of such an accident, to communicate with him; which you will do, if you see occasion, more especially if you go into Epirus. I write this on the point of embarking from Pompeianum in three small vessels of ten oars each. Brutus is still in Nesis, Cassius at Naples. Are you pleased with Deiotarus, and are you not

pleased with Hieras?⁷ Who having been directed, at the time that Blesamius came to me, to do nothing without consulting our friend Sextus,⁸ made no communication to him, nor to any of us. I long to kiss my Attica for the sweet salutation she sent me through you. You will return therefore my kindest compliments to her, and present them likewise to Pilia.

LETTER V.

(GRÆV. IV.)

As I told you in the letter you would receive yesterday, or perhaps to-day (for Quintus¹ said the next day) I went to Nesis the 8th. Brutus was there. How he was vex'd about the 7th of July!² He was wonderfully disturbed, and said that he should write to desire that the fights with the wild beasts, which was to take place

⁷ Deiotarus having been deprived of his kingdom of Armenia by Cæsar, sent Hieras and Blesamius his agents to Rome to procure its restitution; upon which occasion Cicero was his advocate with Cæsar. But upon Cæsar's death Hieras seems to have been the person who secretly gained over Fulvia, Antonius's wife, and purchased what he wanted for a large sum of money. See Book XIV. Letter XII. Deiotarus had already seized his dominions by force; which Atticus may have approved.

⁸ This is supposed to be Sextus Peducæus.

¹ The Son.

² See Letter I.

the day after the Appollinary Games, might be proclaimed for the 13th of Quintilis. Libo came in; and said that Philo, Pompeius's freedman, and his own freedman Hilarus, had arrived from Sextus³ with a letter to the Consuls, or whatever else they are to be called.⁴ He read us a copy of it. I said what I thought; that some few things were irrelevant; but otherwise it was sufficiently dignified, and not disrespectful. I only wanted to have added, that what was inscribed to the Consuls alone, should have been to the Prætors, Tribunes of the people, and Senate; lest they should not produce what had been sent to themselves. They say that Sextus was at Carthagera with only one legion; and that he received the account of Cæsar the very day on which he had taken the town of Borea; that after taking the town there was a wonderful expression of joy, a change in men's minds, and a concourse from all parts; but that he returned to the six legions, which he had left in the further part of Spain. To Libo himself however he wrote word, that there could be no accommodation unless he were permitted to resume his own⁵ house. The sum of his demands was, that all the

³ Pompeius.

⁴ They were not regularly chosen, but of Cæsar's appointment. See Book xiv. Letter ix.

⁵ Which had been his father's, and was now occupied by Antonius.

armies should be dismissed, wherever they might be. So much for Sextus. Respecting the Buthrotians, after every inquiry I hear nothing certain. Some report that the settlers were killed; some, that Plancus, upon receiving a sum of money, had run away and left them. So that I do not see how I can ascertain what the truth of it is, unless you presently write to me. The going to Brundisium, about which I doubted, seems to be at an end; for the legions⁶ are said to be approaching. But this voyage⁷ has some suspicion of danger. Therefore I intend to sail in company with Brutus. I found him better prepared, than I had understood. For Domitius⁸ has himself some good vessels; and there are besides some distinguished ones belonging to Sestius, Bucilianus, and others. For upon Cassius's fleet, which is quite a fine one, I cannot reckon beyond the straits.⁹ It is rather unpleasant to me, that Brutus seems to be so little inclined to hasten his voyage. He waits first to hear the issue of the games; and afterwards, as far as I can learn, means to proceed slowly, and stop at several places. Yet I think it is better to sail slowly, than not to sail at all; and if, when we have made some way, the passage appears

⁶ Book xv. Letter xiii.

⁷ From Puteoli.

⁸ Book xiii. Letter xlviii.

⁹ The straits of Sicily; for Cassius was to proceed to Syria.

clear,¹⁰ I shall take advantage of the Etesian wind.¹¹

LETTER VI.

HITHERTO (for I am got as far as Sica's at Vibo¹) I have sailed rather conveniently, than expeditiously; for a great part of the way has been performed by rowing; there being none of the winds which usually precede the Etesian.² It happened also very opportunely, that we passed over the two bays of Pæstum and Vibo, which must be passed, with an even course.³ I got to Sica's the eighth day after I left Pompeianum, having stayed one day at Velia, where I was much at my ease at my friend Thalna's. I could not have been received more hospitably, especially in his absence. I arrived at Sica's on the 24th, where I was quite at home; therefore

¹⁰ From Pirates.

¹¹ It blew from the north in the months of July and August.

¹ Book III. Letter II. and III.

² See Letter v.

³ I have supposed with some commentators that the original ought to be written *pedibus æquis*; and I understand it to mean that the ropes, which fastened the sails on each side, were equally stretched, so that the ship passed with an even course. It is well known that the word *pedes* is applied to many different things.

I stayed over the next day. But I mean, when I get to Rhegium, before I undertake my longer passage, to consider whether I shall go in a heavy vessel to Patras, or in a light one to the Tarentine Leucopetra,⁴ and from thence to Corcyra ; and, if I go in a ship of burden, whether I shall at once cross over to Greece, or go by way of Syracuse. Upon this subject I will write to you again from Rhegium. In truth, my Atticus, I often ask myself, what is the purpose of this voyage ? Why am I not with you ? Why am I not visiting my own villas, those dear spots of Italy ? But it is enough, and more than enough, to be away from you. And from what am I fleeing ? From danger ? At present, unless I am mistaken, there is none ; but to this very danger your authority calls me back. For you write word that my going is applauded to the skies ; but on condition that I return before the first of January ; which I certainly shall endeavour to do. For I would rather be at home even with the apprehension of danger, than in perfect security at your Athens. But see how things are likely to go ; and either write to me, or, what I should like much better,

⁴ There seems reason to believe this may be the same as Leuca, near Hydruntum, the word Tarentine being added to distinguish it from another place of the same name near Rhegium, of which mention is made in the next letter.

bring me word yourself. So much for this. I hope you will take it in good part, if I urge you to a thing, in which I am persuaded you already take more interest, than I do myself. Clear up, I entreat you, and settle my accounts. I left a fair balance ; but there is need of some exertion, that my co-heirs may be paid in full for the Cluvian estate⁵ on the first of August. You will see what is to be done with Publilius. He ought not to press me, since I do not avail myself of my right ; yet I wish him also to be fully satisfied. But what shall I say to Terentia ? Her I would have you pay even before it is due, if you can. But if, as I hope, you will quickly go to Epirus ; I request you previously to provide for the entire extrication and discharge of this debt, for which I am pledged. But enough of these affairs ; I am afraid you will think it too much. Now hear my negligence. I sent you my treatise on Glory ; but it has the same preface, as that to the third book of the Academics. It arose from hence ; that I have a whole volume of prefaces, from which I am in the habit of selecting one, when I begin any new composition. So lately in Tusculanum, not recollecting that I had before used that preface, I introduced it into the book which I sent you. But upon reading over the Academics in the ship, I found out my error. I there-

⁵ See Letter III.

fore immediately wrote a new preface, which I have sent you. You will accordingly cut off the former, and glue on this.⁶ Give my compliments to Pilia, and to Attica, my delight and darling.

LETTER VII.

ON the 6th of August having set out from Leucopetra,¹ from whence I meant to pass over to Greece, when I had proceeded about 40 miles, I was driven back by a violent south wind to the same port of Leucopetra. There while I was waiting for a fair wind, at the house of my friend Valerius, so that I was altogether at my ease and very comfortable, there arrived some Rhegians of distinction, who had recently come from Rome; and among them one who had been staying with our Brutus at Naples. They brought with them the proclamation of

⁶ These expressions shew the way practised by the ancient Romans in regard to their books, which consisted of a long scroll of parchment divided transversely into pages, and fixed upon rollers.

¹ It appears by the first Philippic that Cicero passed over from Leucopetra near Rhegium to Syracuse, August 1, and the day following set sail for Greece, but was driven back to Leucopetra. Hence he made a second attempt to cross the sea to Greece, but was again obliged to return.

Brutus and Cassius, and said there was to be a full Senate on the 1st of September ; and that Brutus and Cassius had written to the Consular and Prætorian members to request their attendance. They reported that great hope was entertained of Antonius's giving way ; of some accommodation ; and of our friends' returning to Rome. They added also that my absence was regretted, and in some degree blamed. Upon hearing this, I did not hesitate to lay aside all thoughts of my voyage, which, to say the truth, I never much liked. But when I read your letter, I confess I was surprised that you should so vehemently have changed your opinion ; though I concluded it was not without good reason. Yet if you were not the adviser and promoter of my going, at least you were an approver of it, provided I returned to Rome by the first of January. Thus I should have been away, while the danger was likely to be less ; and should have come into the very flame. But if this was not so prudent, I have however no cause to be displeased ; for in the first place, it was done by my own judgment ; and in the next place, even if it had been by your advice, what is expected of one who gives advice, besides integrity ? I cannot sufficiently wonder at the following expressions in your letter ; “ Come then, you who prefer an ho-

nourable death,² come; will you desert your country?" Did I desert it? Or did I then appear to you to desert it? You not only did not prevent it; but you even approved of it. The rest was still more severe; "I wish you would draw up for me some note to prove that you have done right." So then, my Atticus, does my conduct stand in need of defence, especially before you, who so strongly approved it? Yes, I will compose an apology; but it shall be to some one of those, who disliked and dissuaded my going. Though what need now of "a note?" If I had persevered, there might have been need. But this very want of consistency may be objected to me. No philosopher, among the many things that have been written on questions of this kind, ever called a change of opinion by the name of inconsistency. Afterwards you go on thus; "for my friend Phædrus³ might easily find an excuse; but what are we to say now?" So then, what I have done is of such a nature, that I cannot approve it to Cato,⁴ being full of guilt and infamy. I wish it had appeared so to you from the beginning; you should have been

² This seems to refer to what Cicero had said, Book xv. Letter xx.

³ Apparently some Epicurean.

⁴ A Stoic. These names both occur in Cicero's treatise *De Finibus*, to which it is probable they allude.

my Cato, as you always are. This last is the most galling of all; "for our Brutus says nothing;" that is, he does not venture to admonish a person of my age. I can put no other interpretation on these words; and assuredly so it is. For on the 16th of August, when I had arrived at Velia, Brutus heard of it, being with his ship off the river Heles, three miles east of Velia. He immediately came on shore to me. Immortal Gods! What satisfaction did he shew at my return, or rather my coming back! He then poured forth every thing that he had suppressed; so as to make me recollect that expression of your's, "For Brutus says nothing." He particularly regretted my absence from the Senate on the 1st of August. Piso he extolled to the skies. He said that he was glad that I had avoided two heavy imputations; one, of despondency and desertion of the Republic; which I was aware that I incurred by going away; for many with tears uttered their complaints before me, and would not be persuaded of my speedy return; the other, upon which Brutus and those who were with him (and they were a good many,) expressed their joy, that I had avoided the imputation of being supposed to go to the Olympic Games. Nothing could have been more disreputable than this at any period of the Republic; and at this period quite inexcusable. But I cordially thank the

south wind, which has saved me from this disgrace. You have here plausible reasons for my coming back, and reasons which are at the same time just, and ample. Yet there can be no juster reason, than what you mention yourself in another letter; “if there is any thing owing to any body, take care to provide some source from whence an equivalent may be drawn; for the apprehension of war has produced a wonderful difficulty in raising money.” This letter I read in the middle of the straits; and no means of providing this occurred to me, but by coming up to my own support. But enough of this; the rest when we meet. Brutus has shewn me Antonius’s proclamation, and their reply, which is admirably drawn up. But I really do not see what effect these proclamations can have, or what is their object. Nor am I now, as Brutus imagined, going thither to take any part in public affairs. For what can be done? Has any body seconded Piso? Did he himself return again the next day? But they say that at my age one ought not to be at a great distance from his grave.⁵ But, pray, what is this which I hear from Brutus? He said you had written word that Pilia had suffered an attack of palsy. I am exceedingly concerned; though at the same

⁵ That is, it is right for me to be near Rome, where I must soon expect to be buried.

time he added that you hoped she was better. I earnestly wish it. Present my best compliments to her, and to sweetest Attica. I write this on board, approaching to Pompeianum, on the 19th.

LETTER VIII.

WHEN I know what day I shall arrive,¹ I will let you know. I must wait for my heavy goods, which are coming from Anagnia; besides which, several of my family are sick. On the evening of the first² I received a letter from Octavianus. He is attempting great things. He has gained over to his party all the veterans

¹ At Rome. In the interval between the time of writing the preceding letter and this, Cicero had gone up to Rome, where he arrived August 31, and was received with great compliments and congratulations. The following day, Sept. 1, he was solicited by Antonius to attend the Senate; but excused himself on the pretence of fatigue; but really because he knew it was fruitless to resist the proposal of Antonius to decree divine honors to Cæsar. Antonius in rage threatened to pull down his house. Thereupon, on Sept. 2, Cicero pronounced his first Philippic against Antonius; and before the end of the month he retired to the neighbourhood of Naples, where he composed his second Philippic, distinguished for the free exposure of Antonius's character. He still continued in the same neighbourhood when he wrote the present letter in the month of November.

² The first of November.

who are at Casilinum and Calatia;³ and no wonder; for he gives a bounty of 500 denarii (£16.) He thinks of going through the other colonies. He plainly aims at making himself the head of an army to be brought against Antonius. Accordingly I see that in a few days we shall be in arms. Whom then should I follow? Consider his name;⁴ consider his age; and he requests to have first some conversation with me secretly either at Capua, or not far from Capua. But it is childish to suppose that this can be done secretly. I informed him by letter, that this was neither necessary, nor possible to be done. He sent me one Cæsina, of Volaterra, who brought word that Antonius was advancing towards Rome with the legion of Alaudans;⁵ that he demanded contributions from all the great towns; and was conducting a legion⁶ with military ensigns. He consulted me whether he should march to Rome with 3000 veterans; or should maintain the post of Capua, and prevent Antonius's approach; or

³ Places in the neighbourhood of Capua. ⁴ Cæsar.

⁵ This was a legion first raised by Cæsar in Gaul. They were so called from a Gallic word signifying "the crested lark," in imitation of which this legion wore a crest of feathers on the helmet. So the name of Plantagenet is said to be derived from a sprig of heath, which the prince Geoffry of Anjou wore on his helmet. Lyttelton's H. 2. Vol. I, 149.

⁶ Of four legions from Macedonia, three rejected his orders, and one joined him.

should go to meet the three Macedonian legions, which are advancing along the upper coast, and which he hopes are in his interest. They refused to receive Antonius's bounty, as this person relates; and bitterly insulted him, and left him whilst he was haranguing them. In short, he⁷ assumes the command, and thinks that I ought to support him. I, for my part, advised him to go to Rome. For I thought he would have with him both the city populace, and, if he could gain their confidence, likewise the most respectable citizens. O Brutus, where are you? What a fine opportunity⁸ do you lose? I did not foresee exactly this: but I fully expected something of the kind. Now I want your counsel. Shall I go to Rome? or shall I remain where I am?⁹ or shall I retire to Arpinum? For that place possesses great security. To Rome, I think; in case I should be wanted, if any thing decisive occurs. Resolve me this therefore. I never was in greater perplexity.

LETTER IX.

I RECEIVED two letters in one day from Octavius. He now wants me to go immediately to

⁷ Octavianus. ⁸ Of restoring the Republic.

⁹ In the neighbourhood of Naples.

Rome ; and says that he is desirous of acting by the authority of the Senate ; to which I replied, that the Senate could not meet before the first of January, which I believe to be the case.¹ But then he adds, “ by your opinion.” In short, he presses hard ; and I try to excuse myself. I cannot trust his youth ; I do not know his real intentions ; I do not care to do any thing without your friend Pansa.² I am afraid of Antonius’s power, and unwilling to go from the coast ;³ and at the same time should be sorry to be out of the way upon any great occasion. The proceeding of this young man displeases Varro, more than me. He has steady troops ; he may have Brutus ;⁴ and he acts openly, arranging and mustering his army at Capua. Already I see war. Write in answer to this. I am surprised that my messenger should have left Rome on the first without a letter from you.

¹ Owing probably to the absence, or timidity, of most of the respectable members. See Letter xi.

² He was one of the Consuls elect ; accordingly Cicero thought it better to wait till he should have entered on his office.

³ From whence he might yet cross the sea, if Antonius’s power should prevail.

⁴ This is generally supposed to mean Decimus Brutus, but perhaps without sufficient reason.

LETTER X.

I ARRIVED at my house in Sinuessa the 7th of November;¹ and it was generally reported that Antonius was to sleep at Casilinum the same day; which made me alter my plans. For I had intended to go strait to Rome by the Appian road; in which case he would easily have overtaken me; for they say that he travels with the speed of Cæsar.² I have therefore determined to turn aside from Minturnæ towards Arpinum, with the design of sleeping on the 9th³ either at Aquinum, or in Arcanum. Now, my Atticus, enter into my present concern with your whole mind; for it is a thing of great moment. There are three parties to choose: whether I should remain at Arpinum; or should approach nearer; or should go to Rome. Whatever you advise, I will do. But as soon as possible. I anxiously look for a letter from you. The 8th, in the morning, at Sinuessanum.

¹ The date of this letter is generally acknowledged to be wrong. A comparison with the 13th letter of this book has induced me to adopt the dates of M. Mongault, which are alone warranted by the context.

² See Book VIII. Letter IX.

³ Mongault has shewn how easily *v Id.* is corrupted into *ii Id.*

LETTER XI.

ON the 5th¹ I received two letters from you, one dated the 1st of this month, the other the day before. First then for the earliest. I am glad that you approve of my work ;² wherein the brilliant passages, which you have selected, derive additional brilliancy from your judgment ; for I was afraid of those little red³ marks of yours. Your observation about Sica⁴ is very just ; but it is with difficulty that I restrain myself. I will however mention it without any disrespect to Sica or to Septimia ; only so, that children's children may know, without any Lucilian fence,⁵ that he has had children by the daughter of C. Fadius. And I shall be glad to see the day, when this speech may circulate so freely, as to find its way even

¹ The 5th of November.

² His 2d Philippic.

³ Marks of disapprobation. See Book xv. Letter xiv.

⁴ It seems Antonius had married Septimia, daughter to Fadius and granddaughter to a freedman, consequently of inferior rank, and perhaps illegally so ; for Senators were prohibited from marrying libertinæ. Taylor C. L. p. 304. But while Cicero wished to state this in his severe charge upon Antonius, he did not wish to hurt the feelings of his friend Sica, who was probably in some way connected with Septimia.

⁵ Without any such disguise, as the poet Lucilius used in his satires.

into Sica's house. But we have need of that time, when those⁶ Triumvirs lived. May I die if it is not wittily said. I would have you read it⁷ to Sextus, and tell me what he thinks of it. He alone is as good as ten thousand to me. But take care that Calenus and Calvena⁸ do not come in. When you say you are afraid of tiring me; you tire me? Nobody less. For, as Aristophanes said of Archilochus's Iambics,⁹ so may I of your letters, that I like the longest the best. But you are advising me. Even if you were finding fault with me; I should not only bear it patiently, but should be pleased, as long as good sense and kindness are mingled with reproof. Accordingly I shall readily adopt your corrections, and put, "the same" right as Rubrius's," instead of, "as Scipio's;" and in the matter of Dolabella's praises, I will lessen their heap. Yet I think there is in that place a fine irony, when I represent him to have been in three engagements against Roman

⁶ This is apparently copied from some letter of Atticus. But what three people, or what time is meant, is uncertain. A. Gellius mentions that Nævius, a writer of plays, had animadverted so freely upon some leading persons, as to have been cast into prison by certain triumvirs; but I know not if this can be the circumstance intended. Lib. 3. C. 3.

⁷ Read his second Philippic to Sextus Peducæus.

⁸ Friends to Antonius. It was before seen that by Calvina was meant Matius. See Book xiv. Letter v.

⁹ Satirical poems.

citizens. I like better too that expression, "it is most unfit that this man should live," than, "what is more unfit?" I am glad you like Varro's *Peplographia*. I have not yet got from him that *Heraclidean* work. In exhorting me to write, you shew your friendship; but let me assure you that I do nothing else. I am sorry for your cold, and beg you to apply to it your usual attention. I rejoice to think that "O Titus"¹⁰ has been of use to you. The *Anagnians*¹¹ are, *Mustella* the captain of the gladiators, and *Laco*, who is a great drinker. I will polish up, and send you the book you desire. What follows is in reply to the latter of the two letters. The treatise on *Duties*, as far as *Panætius* has gone, I have comprised in two books. There are three of his. But having in the beginning divided the consideration of duties into three kinds; one, when we deliberate whether any thing is honorable, or base; the second, whether it is useful, or prejudicial; the third, how we are to judge, when these clash together (as in the case of *Regulus*,¹² it

¹⁰ Cicero's incomparable treatise on Old age, beginning with these words.

¹¹ Mentioned in the second *Philippic*, where one is called "the prince of gladiators," the other "the prince of drinkers."

¹² Who having been taken prisoner by the Carthaginians was sent to Rome to negotiate for his liberation on disadvantageous terms. But he, exhorting the Romans to

was honorable to return, and useful to remain); he has treated admirably of the two first; respecting the third, he promises hereafter, but has written nothing. The subject has been prosecuted by Posidonius, whose book I have sent for; and have written to Athenodorus Calvus to give me the heads of it, which I am expecting. I wish you would urge him, and request him to do it as quickly as he can. In this is treated of duties under particular circumstances. With regard to the title, I have no doubt of *καθηκον* being Duty; unless you have any thing to say to the contrary. But, "Of Duties," is a fuller title. And I address my son Cicero, which seemed not unsuitable. Nothing can be more clear than your account of Myrtilus.¹³ How poignant are your observations on these people!¹⁴ Is it thus against D. Brutus? The Gods confound them! I have not withdrawn to Pompeianum, as I proposed; first, on account of the weather, than which nothing can be worse; then, I have every day a letter from Octavianus, begging me to undertake the conduct of affairs, to come reject the terms of the Carthaginians, returned to Carthage, where he knew that the severest punishment would be inflicted on him.

¹³ See Book xv. Letter xiii. where Cicero inquires into the nature of Myrtilus's offence; to this it is to be supposed that Atticus replied, and that Cicero here acknowledges it.

¹⁴ Cæsar's and Antonius's adherents.

to Capua, a second time to save the Republic, at all events to go immediately to Rome. "They were ashamed to refuse, and afraid to venture."¹⁵ He has however acted, and still acts, strenuously; and will bring a strong force with him to Rome; but he is a mere boy. He thinks the Senate may be assembled immediately. But who will attend? Or, if he does, who in this uncertain state of affairs will choose to offend Antonius? On the first of January he may perhaps afford protection; or things may come to a crisis before. The free towns are wonderfully inclined towards the boy. For on his way to Samnium he came to Cales, and slept at Theanus's. The greeting and exhortation was surprising. Would you have thought it? On this account I shall go to Rome sooner than I had intended. As soon as I have fixed the time, I will write. Though I have not read the conditions (for Eros has not arrived), yet I shall be glad if you will conclude the business¹⁶ on the twelfth. I shall be better able to write to Catina,¹⁷ Taurome-

¹⁵ The original is taken from Homer, and was before quoted. See Book vi. Letter 1. In this place it is obviously meant to apply to himself. See Letter xiv.

¹⁶ This relates, no doubt, to his money transactions.

¹⁷ These are all places on the eastern coast of Sicily, where Valerius seems to have been canvassing for some appointment. The same person was mentioned, Book i. Letter xii.

nium, and Syracuse, if Valerius the interpreter sends me the names of those in power; for they change at different times, and my own acquaintance are mostly dead. I have written a public letter, if Valerius will make use of it; else he must send me the names. Balbus has written to me about the holidays set forth by Lepidus.¹⁸ I shall wait till the 29th, and hope to hear from you. And by that time I expect to know the event of Torquatus's business.¹⁹ I send you a letter from Quintus,²⁰ that you may see how much he loves him,²¹ whom he is sorry you should love so little. Give Attica a kiss for me on account of her cheerfulness, which is the best sign in children. Farewell.

LETTER XII.

I SEND you the copy of a letter I have received from Oppius, because it shews his kindness. Respecting Ocella,¹ while you hesitate, and send me no answer, I have adopted a counsel of my own, and think of going to Rome on the 12th. I considered that it was better for me

¹⁸ See Letter II.

¹⁹ It is not known to what this alludes.

²⁰ The father.

²¹ Quintus the son.

¹ The name occurs before. See Book x. Letter XIII. and XVII. He appears to have been one of Pompeius's party.

to be there to no purpose, at a time when it was not necessary; than, if I should be wanted, to be absent. Besides, I have some fear of being intercepted; for he² may arrive presently. Though there are various reports; and some that I should like to have verified. But there is nothing certain. Yet whatever happens, I would rather be with you, than remain at a distance, in anxiety both about you, and about myself. But what can I say to you? Be of good courage.³ This is a lively sally⁴ on the subject of Varro's *Heraclideum*. Nothing ever amused me so much. But of this, and other greater matters, when we meet.

LETTER XIII.

WHAT a strange chance! On the 8th having left Sinuessanum before it was light, and got by the dawn of day as far as the Tirene bridge at Minturnæ, where the road turns to Arpinas, I met the messenger just as I was "entering upon my long course."¹ I immediately cried out, "If you have any thing from Atticus, give

² Antonius.

³ This probably refers to some expressions in Atticus's letter, to which this is a reply.

⁴ Again, referring to Atticus's letter.

¹ The original is from Homer.

“it me.” But I was not yet able to read; for I had sent away the torches, and the light was insufficient. But as soon as I could see, I first began to read the former of your two letters. It is elegant beyond every thing. As I hope to be saved, I say nothing different from what I feel. I never read any thing more kind. I will come then whither you call me, provided you assist me. But at first I thought nothing could be so irrelative to that letter, in which I had asked for your advice, as this answer; till I found another, in which you direct me, in the words of Homer, “to pass
“by the stormy Minas² to the Island of Psyria,³
“keeping the Appian⁴ road on the left.” That day then I slept at Aquinum, rather a long journey, and a bad road; I deliver this as I am setting out from thence the next morning.⁵

² Meaning the Apennines.

³ Meaning Arpinas, situated at the conflux of the Fibrenus and Liris, and at the extremity intersected and surrounded by water, so as to be elsewhere called an island. See Book XII. Letter XII.

⁴ The word “Appian” was inserted by Atticus to elucidate the application of his Greek quotation.

⁵ What follows is so evidently a distinct letter, bearing a different date, that I have not scrupled to separate it. This was written November 9, from Aquinum; the other November 11, from Arpinas.

LETTER XIV.

(Part of Letter XIII. in Grævius's Edition.)

EROS's letter has obliged me to send up much against my will. Tiro will explain the business to you. You will consider what is to be done. I wish you besides to write frequently, and to inform me whether I may advance nearer; for I should like better to be at Tusculanum, or somewhere in the suburb; or whether I must go yet further off. There will every day be somebody to take a letter. It is difficult, at this distance, to answer your inquiry, what I think you ought to do. However, if they¹ are upon an equality with each other, it will be best to remain quiet. But if,²—the mischief will spread, first to us,³ then generally. I eagerly expect your advice. I am afraid of being absent when I ought to be there; and yet I dare not go up. Of Antonius's movements I now hear something different from what I mentioned. I wish you therefore to explain every thing, and let me know the truth. For the rest, what can I say.

¹ Antonius and Octavius.

² That is, if Antonius should have the superiority.

³ To Cicero and the other prominent supporters of the Republic.

to you? I am inflamed with the love of history.⁴ For your encouragement stimulates me beyond belief. But it can neither be entered upon, nor effected, without your assistance. We will therefore consider of it together when we meet. At present I wish you would send me word, under what Censors C. Fannius, the son of Marcus, was Tribune of the people. For I seem to have heard that it was under P. Africanus and L. Mummius; and want to know if it is so. Send me a true and clear account of every thing that happens. From Arpinas, the 11th.⁵

LETTER XV.

(GRÆV. XIV.)

I HAVE positively nothing to tell you. While I remained at Puteoli there was every day something new about Octavianus, and many false reports of Antonius. But in answer to what you mention, (for I received three letters from you on the 11th) I perfectly agree with you. If Octavianus acquires influence, the acts of the tyrant will be established much

⁴ It must be supposed that Atticus had pressed him to undertake some history, probably the history of his own times. ⁵ November.

more firmly, than in the temple of Tellus;¹ which will be unfavorable for Brutus. But if he is beaten, you see how insupportable Antonius will be. So that it is difficult to choose between them. O this sad fellow, Sestius's messenger! He promised to be at Rome the day after he left Puteoli. When you admonish me to proceed gently, I assent, though I think differently from you. Neither Philippus, nor Marcellus² have any weight with me; for theirs is a different case; or if it is not, at least it appears to be so.³ But this young man, though he does not want spirit, wants authority. However, if I can prudently be at Tusculanum, consider whether that, or this,⁴ would be better, when Antonius arrives. I shall be there with more satisfaction, because I shall know all that takes place. But, to pass from one subject to another, I have no doubt that what the Greeks call *καθηκον*, we call "Duty." Why should you doubt about its being rightly applied to the state? Do we not say "the duty of the Consuls?" "the duty of the Senate?"

¹ Where the Senate was induced to ratify Cæsar's acts.

² It is to be presumed that Atticus had proposed to Cicero the examples of Philippus and Marcellus.

³ Philippus had married Octavianus's mother, and Marcellus Octavianus's sister.

⁴ Whether he might go to Tusculanum, or should remain at Arpinas.

It suits admirably ; or give me a better word. This is sad intelligence about Nepos's son. In truth I am much concerned, and sorry for it. I did not know that there had been such a boy. I have lost Caninius, a man, as far as regards me, always very kind. There is no occasion for your speaking to Athenodorus ;⁵ for he has sent me a very handsome abstract. Pray take every precaution about your cold. Quintus, the great grandson of your grandfather, has written to my father's grandson,⁶ that after the 5th of that month on which I distinguished myself,⁷ he will lay open the state of the temple of Ops,⁸ and that, before the people. You will see therefore, and write me word. I am anxious to know Sextus's opinion.⁹

⁵ See Letter xi.

⁶ That is, Quintus the younger has written to young Cicero. This humourous circumlocution, of which instances have before occurred in this correspondence, may probably have had a reference to something no longer understood.

⁷ The 5th of December, when Cicero in his Consulship had exposed and defeated the conspiracy of Catiline.

⁸ Where was the public treasure, which Antonius had seized.

⁹ Sextus Peduceus's opinion of Cicero's second Philippic. See Letter xi.

LETTER XVI.

(GRÆV. XV.)

Do not suppose it is from indolence, that I decline writing with my own hand ; yet in truth it is from indolence ; for I have nothing else to alledge. However, in your letters likewise I think I can trace Alexis.¹ But, to come to my purpose ; if Dolabella had not used me shamefully, I might perhaps have doubted, whether I ought to relax, or to contend for my utmost right. But now, I am even glad that an opportunity is offered to me, by which he and every body else, may know that I have withdrawn my affection from him ; and I may publicly declare that both on my own account, and that of the Republic, I hold him in aversion. For after having at my instance undertaken the defence of the Republic, he has not only been bribed with money to desert it ; but, as far as was in his power, he has contributed to ruin it. In answer to your question, how I mean to proceed when the day² arrives ; in the first place I should like it to be so, that there may be no impropriety in my being at Rome ; about which, as about every thing else, I will do as you think

¹ Alexis was an amanuensis of Atticus.

² The day appointed for Dolabella to pay Cicero.

right. But upon the whole, I am disposed to act vigorously and sternly. And though it may seem to be in some measure discreditable to call upon the sureties; yet I would have you take this under your consideration; for I may introduce agents for this purpose; and the sureties will not resist the claim. Upon this, I am confident the sureties will be released. But I think it will be disgraceful in him,³ especially as he has pledged himself in the debt, not to redeem his agents; and it becomes my own character to prosecute my right without exposing him to extreme ignominy. I should be glad if you will inform me what is your opinion about this; and doubt not but you will be able to settle the whole in some gentler manner. I come now to the Republic. I have on many occasions experienced your prudence in political matters; but nothing was ever more prudent than the observation contained in your last letter. “For though at present this boy nobly resists Antonius; yet we must wait for the issue hereafter.”⁴ Yet what an harangue? For it has been sent to me. He swears “by the hope of attaining his father’s honours;”⁵ and at

³ Dolabella.

⁴ The word *postea* in the original, if it is not an error, seems to have been misplaced.

⁵ Cæsar, his adopted father.

the same time extends his hand towards the statue.⁶ But let me not owe my safety to one like him.⁷ As you say, however, the surest test will be the Tribunate of our friend Casca;⁸ about which I told Oppius, when he was exhorting me to support the young man, and his whole cause, and band of veteran soldiers; that I could by no means do it, till I should be satisfied that he would not only not be an enemy to the conspirators, but would even be a friend to them. Upon his assurance that he would be so; why, said I, should we be in a hurry? For I can be of no use to him before the first of January;⁹ and we shall see his intentions before the middle of December in the case of Casca. He readily assented. So much then for this. I have only to add, that you shall have messengers every day; and I imagine you will every day also have something to tell me. I send you a copy of Lepta's letter; by which that Stratyllax¹⁰ appears to me crest-fallen. But you will read it, and judge for yourself.

⁶ The statue of Cæsar.

⁷ Like Cæsar, who had erected to himself a tyranny upon the ruins of the Republic.

⁸ Casca was the first of the conspirators who struck Cæsar. He was now a candidate for the tribunate.

⁹ When the new Consuls would come into office.

¹⁰ Various conjectures have been formed upon the meaning of this word. It seems to be most probable that it may have been the name of some character in a play, as we

After I had sealed my letter, I received yours, and Sextus's.¹¹ Nothing could be more agreeable, or more friendly than Sextus's letter. For your's was very short, having written so fully before. It is indeed with prudence and kindness that you advise me to remain in this neighbourhood, till I hear the event of the present commotions. But, my Atticus, the Republic does not at this time affect me. Not that any thing is, or ought to be, dearer to me; but even Hippocrates forbids giving medicine, when all hope is past. Therefore I lay aside such considerations. It is for my private affairs that I am now concerned. Say I so? Yes, for my reputation. For though there is so great a balance, yet I have not actually received enough to pay Terentia.¹² Terentia do I say? You know that some time ago I engaged to pay 25 sestertia (£200.) on the part of Montanus.¹³ Cicero had very modestly requested this on his own faith. I promised with all readiness, which you also approved, and desired Eros to set apart a sum for that purpose. He has not only not done it; but Aurelius¹⁴ has been under the necessity of borrowing at a most exorbi-

see it in the *Truculentus* of Plautus. Antonius is on all hands supposed to be the person intended by it.

¹¹ Sextus Peduceus.

¹² See Letter vi.

¹³ See Book xii. Letter lxi.

¹⁴ Some agent on the part of Montanus.

tant interest. Respecting the debt to Terentia, Tiro wrote me word, that you said the money would accrue from Dolabella. I suppose he understood wrong, if any body understands wrong; rather, he did not understand at all. For you sent me Cocceius's¹⁵ answer; as Eros did, almost in the same words. I must therefore come up into the very flame of civil commotion. For it is better to fall publicly, than privately. To the other subjects, upon which you so sweetly write to me, in my present disturbed state of mind, I am unable to reply as I use to do. Let me first extricate myself from this care which presses me. Some means of doing this occur to me; but I can come to no certain determination, till I have seen you. But why cannot I be in Rome with as much propriety as Marcellus? This however is not the question, nor do I much care about it. You see what it is, that I care about; and I shall accordingly go up.

LETTER XVII.

(GRÆV. XVI.)

I HAVE read your very agreeable letter; and send you a copy of what I have written to

¹⁵ An agent of Dolabella.

Plancus. I shall know from Tiro what passed between them. You will be able to give more attention to your sister, when you cease to be occupied with this affair.¹

* The affair of the Buthrotians. There is reason to be believe this short letter is misplaced in point of time ; and that it, with those which are thrown together in the Appendix, belongs to the same period, as the others contained in Book xv. and beginning of Book xvi. relative to Buthrotum.

Presently after the conclusion of the above correspondence Cicero went up to Rome, where he used every exertion to rouse the people, the Senate, the Provincial Governors, to support the cause of the Republic. Octavius at first joined the Republican armies against Antonius; but afterwards uniting with Antonius and Lepidus formed that triumvirate, which extinguished the dying liberties of Rome. Having secured the military by promises, they proceeded to act without control, and to proscribe all who were offensive to them. Among these was Cicero, who was at that time at Tusculanum; but thereupon fled to Astura, and embarking there went along the coast to Formianum. Thence he was going again towards the shore to re-embark, when he was overtaken and killed, having ordered his servants to make no resistance. This happened twelve months after he had gone up to Rome, when he had nearly completed his 64th year.

APPENDIX.

LETTER I.

M. Cicero to L. Plancus, Prætor elect.

I KNOW the great regard you bear to my friend Atticus; and to me your zeal is such, that in truth I consider myself to have few equally attentive and affectionate. For to the great, and long, and just friendship between our families, a great accession has been made by your disposition towards me, and mine towards you, equal and mutual. The case of Buthrotum is not unknown to you; for I have often conversed with you about it, and detailed the whole affair to you. It happened in this manner. As soon as we found that the Buthrotian land was proscribed, Atticus became alarmed, and drew up a statement, which he gave me to present to Cæsar; for I was to dine with him that day. I gave Cæsar the statement; and he approved the cause, and wrote back to Atticus, that what he asked was very just; but

at the same time reminded him, that the Buthrotians must pay the money, which was besides demanded, at the time appointed. Atticus, who was anxious to save the city, paid the money out of his own property. Upon this we went to Cæsar, and spoke in behalf of the Buthrotians, and brought back a most liberal decree, signed by persons of the first distinction. After this had been done, I confess I was surprised that Cæsar should permit the assembling of those who wished for the Buthrotian land; and should not only permit it, but should appoint you to superintend that business. Accordingly I spoke to him, and that, repeatedly, so that he even accused me of want of confidence in his word. He likewise bid M. Messalla, and Atticus himself, lay aside all apprehensions; and openly declared, that he was unwilling to offend the minds of the claimants, while they remained in Italy; (for, as you know, he affected popularity) but that, when they had crossed the sea, he would take care they should be settled in some other place. This passed during his life. But after the death of Cæsar, as soon as the Consuls, by a decree of the Senate, began to hear causes, this, which I have above written, was laid before them. They approved the cause without any hesitation, and said they would write to you. But I, my Plancus, though I do not

doubt but the Decree of the Senate, and the Law, and the Decree of the Consuls, and their letter, will have abundant authority with you ; and am conscious that for Atticus's own sake you would wish it ; yet in consideration of our acquaintance and mutual regard, I have taken upon me to request that of you, which your distinguished kindness and gentle disposition would of themselves effect. That is, that what I am confident you would do of your own accord, you will for my honor's sake, do readily, liberally, and quickly. There is nobody more friendly, or more agreeable, or dearer to me, than Atticus. Before, his property only was concerned, though that was to a large amount ; now his reputation is likewise implicated ; that what he gained by great assiduity, and solicitation, both in the life time, and after the death of Cæsar, he may effectually obtain by your assistance. Should this be granted by you, I would have you believe that I shall entertain such a sense of your kindness, as to consider myself under the greatest obligation. I shall make it a point to attend with zeal and diligence to whatever I think will please, or interest you. Take care to preserve your health.

LETTER II.

Cicero to Plancus, Prætor elect.

I HAVE already petitioned you by letter in behalf of the Buthrotians; that, as their cause had been approved by the Consuls, (who had legal authority to enquire, determine, and pass judgment on Cæsar's acts) you would promote that object, and would relieve my Atticus (for whom I know your regard), and me (who am not less earnest), from our present anxiety. For every thing being at length arranged, after great care, and much exertion and trouble, it remains with you to enable us as soon as possible to put a final end to our solicitude. And indeed I know your prudence to be such, that you must see what great confusion will arise, if those Consular decrees, which have been made respecting Cæsar's acts, are not observed. On my part, though I disapprove many of Cæsar's decisions (which was unavoidable among such a multiplicity of business), yet for peace and quiet's sake I think it right to support them; and I believe that you strenuously maintain the same opinion. But the purpose of my letter is not to persuade, but to ask. I ask you therefore, my Plancus, and beg you, with all the zeal and ardor, of which

I am capable, so to undertake, so to manage, so to conclude this whole affair, that what we have without any hesitation obtained from the Consuls by the extreme goodness and justness of the cause, you will not only permit us to enjoy, but will take pleasure in it, considering the disposition you have often evinced towards Atticus, both in his presence, and in mine. By so doing you will confer the greatest obligation on me, who have always been united to you both by inclination and family connection. That you will do this, I ardently request of you again and again.

LETTER III.

Cicero to his Capito.

I NEVER expected to come before you as a suppliant; but am not sorry that an opportunity is offered me of making trial of your affection. You know my regard for Atticus. I beg you therefore to grant me this; forget, for my sake, the part he once took in behalf of a friend, your adversary, when his character was at stake. In the first place, it is becoming your humanity to pardon this; for every body is bound to support his friends; then, if you love me (to say nothing of Atticus), grant this wholly to your Cicero, for whom you profess

so much esteem ; that what I have always believed, I may now fully know, the reality of your affection. After Cæsar by his decree (which I, with many persons of the first dignity, countersigned) had exempted the Buthrotians, and assured me that as soon as the claimants had crossed the sea, he would write to assign them some other lands ; it happened that he was suddenly cut off. Upon this, as you know, (for you were present when the Consuls were appointed by a decree of the Senate to take Cæsar's acts into consideration) the business was put off to the 1st of June. The Decree of the Senate was confirmed by a law passed on the 2d of June, giving to the Consuls the cognizance of those matters, which Cæsar had purposed, decreed, and enacted. The cause of the Buthrotians was laid before the Consuls. Cæsar's decree was recited, and besides, several documents of Cæsar's were produced. The Consuls by the judgment of their council decreed in favor of the Buthrotians, and appointed Plancus to carry it into execution. Now, my Capito (for I know the influence you possess wherever you are, especially with a man of Plancus's easiness and humanity) strive, labor, or rather coax and persuade Plancus, who, I hope, is well disposed, to be still better disposed through your means. Indeed it seems to be a thing of such a kind,

that without favour to any body, Plancus would of himself, agreeably to his known disposition and prudence, not hesitate to maintain the decree of the Consuls, to whom the enquiry and determination was referred both by the law, and by the decree of the Senate; especially as, if this sort of cognizance were invalidated, the acts of Cæsar would seem to be called in question; which not only those, who are interested, but also those, who disapprove them, wish, for tranquillity's sake, to confirm. Nevertheless, it is of consequence to me that Plancus should do this cheerfully and freely; which he certainly will, if you exert that gentle spirit, which I have often experienced, and that sweetness, in which nobody equals you. I earnestly request you to do so.

LETTER IV.

Cicero to C. Cupiennius.

I HAD a great esteem for your father; and he, always, shewed me extraordinary attention and kindness; nor indeed have I ever doubted of your affection towards me. I, on my part, have not been deficient in cultivating it. I therefore request of you the more urgently to aid the city of Buthrotum, and to exert your influence that our friend Plancus may lose no time in

confirming and carrying into effect the decree of the Consuls, which they made in favour of the Buthrotians, agreeably to the authority given them both by the law and by the decree of the Senate. This, my Cupiennius, I earnestly request of you again and again.

LETTER V.

Cicero to Plancus, Prætor elect.

Excuse me, if after I have written to you in detail about the Buthrotians, I address you again upon the same subject. It is not, my Plancus, that I have any distrust either of your liberality, or of the friendship between us ; but in an affair of such moment to my Atticus, (in which now even his reputation is concerned, that it may be seen he is able to secure that, to which Cæsar consented, and which we, who were present at the decrees and rescripts of Cæsar, witnessed and countersigned ; especially as the whole power of execution rests with you ;) that, what the Consuls decreed agreeably to the decrees and rescripts of Cæsar, I say not, you should execute ; but, should execute with zeal and readiness ; this will be so grateful to me, that nothing can be more so. Though I hope that by the time you receive this, the request I had made

in a former letter may be already granted; yet I shall not cease to importune you, till I hear that it is done; to which I look forward with great hope. Then I trust I shall write in a different strain, and shall have to return you thanks for your important favour. Should this be conferred, I would have you believe not so much that Atticus, (who is deeply interested), as that I (who am not less earnest than he) shall be obliged by it. Farewell.

LETTER VI.

Cicero to Capito.

I DOUBT not you will be surprised, and even displeased, that I should address you again upon the same subject; but an affair is at issue of great moment to Atticus, my intimate friend, to whom I am bound by every tie. I know your zeal for your friends, and theirs too for you, and it is in your power to render me essential service with Plancus. I am well acquainted with your kindness, and know the influence you have with your friends. Nobody can do us more service on this occasion, than you. And the cause is as good, as one ought to be, which the Consuls have decreed on the judgment of the council, having taken cognizance of it agreeably to the law and the decree of the

Senate. But I consider every thing to rest in the liberality of your friend Plancus ; who, I think, while for your friendship's sake, and for the Republic's sake, he will carry into effect the decree of the Consuls ; so for my sake will be glad to do it. Assist me then, my Capito ; for which again and again I earnestly entreat you. Farewell.

FINIS.



